

Feb 5 8

W A R
Betwixt the
Two British Kingdoms
CONSIDER'D,
AND THE
Dangerous Circumstances

Of Each with Regard thereto

L A Y ' D O P E N ;

B Y A

Full View of the Consequences of it
on Both sides. *H. Hodges*

Being Design'd

As a Perpetual Standard, for Judging aright
of that Event ;

A N D

For Promoting Peace, and Friendly Agreement be-
twixt Them, by Reasonable Concessions from Each
to Each, for the Mutual Interest and Good of Both,

By the Author of *The Rights and Interests of the Two
British Monarchies, with Respect to an United or Sepa-
rate State, &c.*

*Who is the Man, that Delighteth in Life, loving Days, to see
what is Good and Pleasant ? — Seek Peace and pursue it, Ps. 34.*

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17

W A R

Two British Kingdome
CONSIDERED
AND THE
Singular Circumstances

L A I D O P E N



**MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM**

THE
Epistle Dedicatory
TO THE
QUEEN.

MADAM,
WAR betwixt these
Your MAJESTY'S
Two Kingdoms,
at whatever Prospect of Di-
stance, is a Matter of so great
Concern to You, who are
the Civil Head and Parent of
Both, as of Two Twins, and
A 2 Each

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Each of them Equally Members of Your Politick Body, as makes me Judge it Your MAJESTY's Interest and my Duty, humbly to offer the following Sheets to Your Royal Consideration.

The Nature of the Weighty Subject, whereof they Treat, is such, as cannot admit of being Scurft over with any timorous Caution about offending those, who are for supporting the Different Interests of Opposite Parties, unless a Resolution were layd to prosecute the Design Unfaithfully and Partially.

I do

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I do firmly Believe, That Your MAJESTY doth always Entertain an Inclination to Promote the General Good of all Your People, with as much Sincerity and Zeal, as any Monarch, who ever did Reign before You, or shall Reign after You :

That, if any Part of Your People Endeavours to obstruct the Happiness of another Part, it flows from their Emulations and Jealousies amongst themselves, which are rather Unreasonably, and indeed Unchristianly Cherished and Fomented, with a lurking Enmity, than prudently
provi-

Epistle Dedicatory.

provided against by a Friendly Accommodation :

And That nothing can proceed from Your MAJESTY tending that way, in the free Exercise of Your own Choice and Judgment; seeing Your Equal Relation to them all, and Your Greatness Arising from Theirs makes it Your true Interest, That they be All Great, All Easie, and All Happy.

God, who is the Lord of Hosts, and to whom only You owe Your Victories, and Success of Your Arms, whatever Means and Instruments He, and You directed by His Providence,

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vidence, thinks fit to Employ therein, hath made Your Name Glorious, Your Power Formidable, and Your Fame to Spread over all the World.

And, if You are Rais'd to that Eminent Hight of Power, Felicity and Dignity, as turns the Eyes of all Men, Friends and Foes, upon You with some kind of Admiration, while Queen of One Rich, and Two Poor Kingdoms; What should Your Glory and Formidableness Amount to, if Each of Your Two Poor Kingdoms were Wealthy and Potent by Sea and Land, as the One that is now so?

Cer-

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Certainly, in that Case, You should stand in need of no Assistance for Enabling You to Conquer Him, who now pretends to Conquer the World; and who probably would be able to make His Pretensions Good, if Your MAJESTY did not oppose them; and Your Fear of God and Justice to Man, would make You a Strong Bulwark and Safeguard to the Peace and Liberties of *Europe*.

There is much talk'd about Securing and Advancing the Protestant Interest; but speaking Humanely, it is Impossible to think reasonably upon any
means

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means more Effectual for Attaining that End, than an Equal Advancement of the Power and Prosperity of all Your MAJESTY'S Three Kingdoms would Infallibly prove, if an Unlucky Humour of Maintaining Separate Interests, and the Want of Publick Spiritedness for the General Good of Mankind, did not interrupt it.

My Chief Design in this Treatise is to Promote that Universal Good, by gathering together into one Center a Complex View of Common Benefit, and by Endeavouring to strike out of the
a Hands

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Hands of those, who oppose it, that Handle of MINE and THINE, whereby Division, Opposition of particular Interests, and Animosity arising therefrom are Industriouslly or Ignorantly Pusht, and Kept up in the Minds of Your Subjects of these Your Two British Kingdoms; whereby the general Interests of Religion and Liberty are so much abandon'd and left to shift for themselves, at a time when Both are equally threatened with Ruin.

For while *Scotland* is Told,
That *England* is Able, and
will Force them into their
Measures; and *England* is
Told,

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Told, That some in *Scotland* are inclin'd to Submit, tho' without any solid Prospect, either of Securing the Independency of their Free Government, from English Influence, or of Advancing the Publick Good of their Country, with respect to Trade, and other National Concerns, above the low Circumstances, which they now Labour under; what can be expected as the final Issue of such Opposition of Interest amongst so near Neighbours, and so nearly Related to one another by Blood, Intermarriages, Religion, their being the Inhabi-

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tants of one Isle, and Subjects
of one Monarch, but a con-
tinued State of Misery on the
one side, and of Oppression
on the other; giving Occasion
to the Enemies of Both, and
of our Common Liberty and
Religion to Improve to their
own Advantage these un-
happy Differences amongst
our selves?

For Obviating whereof I
have Adventur'd to tell *Eng-
land*, That they cannot Force
Scotland, and to tell *Scotland*,
That, being in that Point Se-
cure, they can by other Means
make themselves Happy, and
both Advance, and Secure
their

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their Publick Good, and their Civil in Conjunction with their Ecclesiastick Interests, if *England* will not Consent to a Friendly Agreement with them Founded on Reasonable Concessions on Both sides.

Which I do with no other Design, but so to Turn the Force upon *England*, as to Convince them, That they must agree with *Scotland*, unless they are Resolv'd to Act contrary to their own Interest.

I am in my Conscience Persuaded, that *Scotland* cannot do so well by any other Agreement with any Nation in *Europe*, as by that with *England*,

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if it is Settled on Reasonable
Terms of Mutual Interest,
which only can make it lasting:

And That, granting *Scotland* should in that Conjunction attain to the highest Advancement in Power and Wealth that we can suppose; yet an Agreement may be concluded on such Conditions, and with such Security for the due Observation of its Articles, as shall Satisfie *England*, That all their Power, and all their Wealth is to be forth coming for the Service and Safety of *England*, whenever they want it, and never to be Employ'd against them.

And

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And That this must always be the Effect of *Scotland's* Thriving by favourable Terms of Agreement with *England*, I hope is clear'd by those Invincible Reasons, whereby I have prov'd, That neither of the Two Nations, whatever Condition they are in, can ever make Advantage by War with one another.

Which leaves them no other possible Way of Making Advantage by their Mutual Relation of Neighbourhood, but such a Friendly Settlement by Compact, as shall be able to Convert Their Distinct Separate Interests into one Com-

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mon United Interest, Equally Favouring the Good of Both.

I Humbly Presume, That I agree in my Sentiments with those of Your MAJESTY in prosecuting so good a Design; whereof I heartily wish You may have the Honour to be the Happy Instrument.

And this, with the Testimony of my Conscience, and Sincerity of my Purpose, To Promote and Secure the Peace, Amity, and Prosperity of Both Nations, makes me Treat of the Present Subject with an Equal Degree of Boldness, Impartiality, and Free-

Epistle Dedicatory.

Freedom from all Fear what
England thinks, or *Scotland*
thinks, or Statesmen, or Cri-
ticks, or any Body else think,
as if I were as far above all
their Reach, as Some perhaps
may Suppose, that by so ven-
turing the naked Truth, I
have had more in View the
Common Interest of All,
than my Own.

That the God, whom
You serve, may of His Free
Mercies in *Jesus Christ* Bless
Your Majesty with the Grace
and Love of *Mary*, who sat
at *Jesus's* Feet, with the Wis-
dom of *Solomon* to Govern
Your People, and with the
Suc-

Epistle Dedicatory.

Success of *David* in Subdu-
ing Your Enemies ; That
You may be such an Over-
comer, as at Length shall In-
herit all Things, and That
You may never cease to wear
a Crown to all the Ages of
Eternity ; Is the Sincere and
Earnest Prayer of

May it please Your MAJESTY

Your MAJESTY'S

Most Humble, Obedient,

Faithful Subject and Servant,

JAMES HODGES.

**THE
PREFACE,**

Directed to the
People of Scotland.

THE following Treatise was
Design'd to have been Pre-
par'd and Publish'd against
the last Session of Parliament; But
being hindred by Sickness, I ac-
knowledge the Favour of Provi-
dence, in Reserving it for a more
seasonable Time.

For, if the Increase of Difficul-
ties in the Circumstances of a Peo-
ple, whom I believe God hath un-
der a Fatherly Eye of Care and
Pro-

The Preface.

Protection, as much as any other People on Earth, is grown to that height, as makes them want Help more than ever, before it is found, and if He thinks fit to make me the unworthy Instrument of it, That the whole Glory may be His own, it gives an Eminent Proof of His Sovereignty, That He can Work above Means, and contrary to Means. And, That Man's Extremity is God's Opportunity.

Your Case at present seems to have a great Affinity with that of David's, whom God would not Favour with His Succession to the Throne of Israel, and the fulfilling the other great Promises and Hopes He had given Him, until He had, as it were, pass'd a Sentence of Death on all, that He had in Prospect from the Faith of God's Truth.

Pro-

Thus

The Preface.

10 Thus immediately before God's making good His Faithfulness to Him, He must First be carry'd Safe through the Fire and Water of that great Affliction and Distress, whereby all His Hopes were so much shaken, and threatned with Disappointment, as in outward Appearance, left them in no better State, than if they had been quite lost.

By His being thrust away Dishonourably from *Achish*, By the Burning of *Ziklag*, the carrying His Wives and Children away Captive, and the spoiling of all His Goods by His Enemies the *Amalekites*; while at the same time, The People, with whom He was joyn'd by the nearest Tyes of a Friendly Communion, Spoke of Stoning Him to Death.

Scotland hath in like manner long suffer'd the Fiery Tryal of many Calamities coming upon the Back of one another; so that they may
say,

The Preface.

say, All the Waves and Billows of a violent Tempest have gone over them, as *David* elsewhere says of Himself.

Your Losses by the Enterprize of *Darien*, by Five Years Famine, by the great Fire in *Edinburgh*, and at last, by the breaking of the Bank, and an extraordinary Scarcity of Money, falling in with a mighty Decay of Trade, seem scarcely to leave Room for the Truth of Your Proverb, *All is not Lost that's in Hazard.*

And the Addition of Your Difficulties by the Threatnings of a People mightier than You, pressing You into Measures, that seem not to Favour Your Interest, puts You in a Condition much like that of *Jonah*.

You are cast into the Sea and Devoured, tho' remaining alive in the Belly of a great Fish, The Weeds

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Weeds are Wrapt about Your Head,
and You have no Light; yet who
can tell, but God may speak to
the Fish to Vomit You out on dry
Land.

My Faith concerning *Scotland* is,
That, seeing I have good Ground
to Believe, That for the Sake of
many amongst You Precious in the
Sight of God, You have a National
Right to His Promise That He
will never Leave You, nor Forsake
You; Your Deliverance must be
at Hand, and at the very Door,
Because God hath ordered such an
Extremity in Your Straits, as cannot
admit of a Long Delay without
Your Ruin, unless You should be
as miraculously Preserv'd as *Jonah*
was, for Three Days and Three
Nights.

I wish That the same Thoughts
which I have of Your Condition,
may Inspire You all, so as to stir
You

The Preface.

You up to fervent Prayer and Strong Hope. Seeing, tho' God may have a Mind Speedily to Multiply You as a Flock, yet His Way of Ordering, it may be such as That, for this Thing He will yet be sought by the House of Israel.

As for You, who have not a Resisting Gust of this Doctrine, and are more for Means and Grounds of Hope nearer at Hand, than those that must be fetch'd from so great a Distance as Heaven;

I shall only put You in Mind to Consult Your Interest by Reason and Sense, with Your Doom depending thereon, from the Demonstrable Example of a Sheaf of Arrows.

You see, That whatever Difference be in the Distinct Way of Feathering and Pointing them, yet the Strongest amongst You cannot Break them, while knit together

The Preface.

together in one Fast Bundle.

But divide them into those their several Lesser Distinctions and Differences, and any of You can easily break them all in Pieces.

Learn then, and know That, if You Break not Your selves by Your own Divisions, no Body else can Break You.

If You can be Persuaded to be so Wise and Faithful to Your own and Your Countries Interest; as, I say, not to Part with; but to lay aside and wave for a Time all Consideration of Your Different Opinions, until You have once Provided for, and Fixed Your Common Concern, in the Publick Good and Prosperity of Your Country; as the Scots and Picts did of Old, Who, tho' bitter Enemies to one Another, yet after the Roman Legions came into *Britain*, gave over all Debates amongst themselves,

b

and

The Preface,

and joyn'd together against the Formidable Power of the Britains, when assisted by the Romans, being Both the Common Enemies of *Scotland*; This is the Infallible Way, whereby you may not only Secure Your selves from all Hurt from *England*, but Insure to Your selves the Favourable Influence of their useful Friendship by a Federal Compact equally adjusted to Your and Their National Interest.

By a seasonable Improving the Benefit allow'd You by the Act of Security, You may also Secure Your selves from all Fear of Invasion from *France*.

And, if You once find that Your Peace and Safety are Surer, Your Liberty and Independency better provided for, Your Trade more Enlarg'd, and Your Prosperity like to be far Greater, in a Friendly Compact with *England*, than in Renew-

The Preface.

Renewing Your League with *France*, which any of You that knows Your own Histories, must Acknowledge, was to *Scotland* the dearest bought Friendship, that ever was Purchased by any People in the World, I cannot think How, the greatest Jacobite amongst You, that has an Estate, Honour, Relations, and Hope of Posterity in *Scotland*, can Judge himself concern'd to Consult the Interest of any Person or Successour on Earth, More, than that of His Country.

For my own Part, what I Plead for an Agreement betwixt You and *England*, rather than with any other Nation, Flows wholly from the most Single, Pure, and Unbias'd Consideration of *Scotland's* true Interest, that any Person can be possess'd of.

Neither can any be more Sensible than I am, of the Hard Treatment

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You have met with from *England*, in so near a Mutual Relation, as Your being both Subjects of one Monarch.

But I cannot see how a Reasonable Allay ought not to be allow'd in any Resentment thereof, by considering what a large Share of the Fault is Chargeable upon Your selves, by Your first Coming under one Monarch, without any Compact with them.

For what Reason can make it the Interest of *England* to Promote Your Wealth and Greatness, being a distinct Nation Inhabiting the same Isle with them, and so capable of doing them more Hurt, than any other? Or what can make it unreasonable on their Part, To Endeavour to keep You Low, while they have no Fixed Assurance from You Nationally, of Your Firm Friendship, when it should happen to be otherways with You.

But

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But Having a Remedy in View for altering that State of Affairs on Both Sides, I cannot cease to plead for Your Agreeing with *England*, while the Reasons contain'd in the Following Treatise give me such ground to Hope, That You may have Reasonable, Equal, and Advantageous Terms of Agreement from them, and they the like from You.

I know I stand Engag'd by Promise for a second Treatise of *The Rights and Interests of the Two British Monarchies, with Respect to an United or Separate State, &c.* From which, a farther clearing of what I have now asserted may be expected, and for which I have suffered many Solicitations; But cannot think it seasonable, untill once I See Both Kingdoms going into a Serious Resolution to Treat Effectually about Composing the Differences in their Distinct National Concerns.

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Then I Hope, God Willing, to give some Assistance by Proposing what I humbly Conceive is Reasonable for *Scotland* to Ask, and Reasonable for *England* to Give; How *England* shall thereby reap Advantage as well as *Scotland*; And How all agreed upon, may be so Secur'd, as to render it in Human Reason, Infringible for ever.

And, tho' now it begins to be an Upcast to me, That I have long Concern'd my self more for my Countries Interest, than They have done for mine; yet I hope never to be weary of that Service, while I can take the Pleasure I have in it, not only from Affection and Sense of Duty, But also by Remembring That it is a more Blessed, as well as a more Honourable Part To be the Giver, than the Receiver of Benefit.

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hended in These Seven Positions :

*That a Design of War in Either Nation
with the other is a most Imprudent En-
terprize, be the Success of it what
will.*

*That England is under far greater Dan-
gers, and Disadvantages by it, than
Scotland.*

*That the Scots are Able to Enslave the Eng-
lish, if Forced by them into Extreme
Measures.*

*That Scotland will certainly never Take the
Advantage, unless so Forced.*

*That, at the Terminating of the Present
Succession, Scotland is Able to Secure
and Maintain Their Independent Go-
vernment, without Fear of any Force
from*

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from England, tho' having no Wars Abroad, and Scotland having no Foreign Assistance.

That it is more the Interest of Scotland to Joyn with England on Equal Terms, than to set up a Separate Monarchy.

That a Friendly Agreement Betwixt the Two Nations, with Reasonable Concessions from Each to Each for making it Effectual, is Necessary for the Good of Both.

Sum of the Contents may be Comprehended in These Seven Propositions:

That a Design of War in Either Nation with the other is a most Impudent Enterprise, be the Success of it what will.

That England is not for Greater Danger, and Disadvantage by it, than Scotland.

That the Scots are Able to Engage the English, if Forced by them into hostilities.

That Scotland will certainly never Take the Advantage, unless so Forced.

THE
That the Preservation of the Present Succession, Scotland is Able to secure and maintain in Independent Government, without Fear of any Force from



THE
Dangerous Circumstances
OF THE
Two British Kingdoms
LAID OPEN:

With Regard
To WAR with one another.

THE chief Character of a well-order'd Government is, That all Designs, Undertakings, and Actions are thereby Regulated and Directed for Publick Good.

And the Question, What is Publick Good? is never brought to a more
B Critical

2 *War betwixt the Two*

Critical and Hazardous point of Judgment, than when it is put with respect to the determining another Question, Whether Peace or War?

But on whatever side the Resolve may happen to fall, with respect to a different View of various Contingencies, it is certain, That in a general and unbiass'd Consideration of this matter, it can never be deny'd but that Peace is a Blessing of Heaven, which the Light of Nature, and the sensible Experience of all Men must always acknowledge to be a National Good, and greatly desirable; for the Benefits and Comforts, common and particular, which naturally attend it, and are secured by it.

Seeing thereby our Lives, Relations, Wives, Children, our Houses, Lands, Estates, and Dignities, all our Property, and all the Effects of our Trade, Labour, Industry, and Invention, our Laws and Religion, our Rights, Liberties, Privileges, and all our other good things, are by us enjoy'd with Pleasure, Delight, Justice, Tranquillity, and Safety.

War, on the other hand, is a thing always Evil in its proper Nature; according to which it naturally produceth
Effects

British Kingdoms consider'd. 3

Effects quite contrary to those mentioned. As,

Trouble, Terrour, Anxiety, Perplexity, Loss of Friends and the dearest Relations; sorrowful and doubtful Flights from them, from our Houses, Estates, and all our desirable things into strange Places, and amongst strange Persons, of Tempers and Humours, wherewith we are altogether unacquainted, for Safety of our Lives; while, in the mean time, our uneasie Thoughts are chiefly taken up with Rumors of Violence, Abuses, Outrages, Rapines, Combustions, Consternation, Wounds, Mutilation, Bloodshed, Ravishings, Ruin, Destruction, and Death.

And all those dreadful Consequences of War do, for the most part, arise from the evil Roots of Pride, Covetousness, Revenge, and other unsatiable Lusts, making War in the Minds of bad Men, to whom belongeth the Scripture Character, *That they are like the raging Sea, always casting out Mire and Dirt, and to whom the way of Peace is not known.*

Yet War is sometimes eligible, but never otherwise than as a lesser Evil, to prevent a greater, or as a smaller Loss, in

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a reasonable Prospect of an overbalancing Gain ; and never but in a just Cause, that is, when Justice is deny'd to due Right and Privilege.

In which case those of a lesser Power have no cause to be afraid of a greater, seeing they have Reason to believe, that they have a just and an Almighty Power on their side.

But laying aside those Motives, which may in certain Emergents make War preferable to an injur'd and uneasy Peace, it can never be other ways reasonably accounted for, than as a malign Distemper, or Madness of human Nature, which at best must undergo a bitter Draught, violent Purging, Sweating, Loss of Blood, Loss of Ease, Loss of Business, and the cutting off of some useful Members of the Body politick, for its Cure, if curable, with a large Bill for Attendance and Charges.

And a Breach being once made, it is, of course, still growing wider and wider ; as *Solomon* says of Contention, *That it is as the letting out of Waters*, and therefore wisely adviseth to leave it off before it is meddled with ; because, if once begun, it naturally forceth both its Continuance and Enlargement.

Now,

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Now, when distinct Nations are in Peace with one another, but in the mean time begin to discover opposite Inclinations to push opposite Interests, and to appear resolv'd to make Demands upon one another relating to their different national Concerns, about which they are not like to agree; it becomes then seasonable for each to forethink and account with themselves, what the Event is like to prove, if matters should happen to go to an Extremity betwixt them.

In which case nothing can be more reasonable, than That first of all they well consider what is like to be their Gain or Loss, by enlarging their Concessions to one another, for the sake of Peace; and then balance the same fairly with the Gain or Loss that are like to be the Effects of War, and of the restraining or narrowing their Concessions to one another, which may prove the occasion of it.

By this means they may come to a just Computation, and plain View, whether the certain Advantages of Peace, with what it must cost them, or the uncertain Advantages by War, with what it must cost them, are like to make Peace

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or War a better or worse Bargain for them to resolve on.

I call the Advantages propos'd by War uncertain, because it always depends, in a large measure, upon many Contingencies; some whereof can neither be foreseen nor provided against, which makes it impossible to fix the certainty of the Event.

To bring home these general Reflections to the particular Design of the present Treatise, we are to take notice,

That the Union of these two Kingdoms under one Monarch being to terminate at the Death of her present Majesty, whom God long preserve, unless it be again renew'd, by the Scots their choosing the same Successor which *England* hath already declared, we find,

That, beside the more common Report of the more general Inclination of the Scots to separate from *England*, and set up for themselves at the terminating of the present Succession, they have, by an Act of the Estates, in their last Session of Parliament but one, entituled, *An Act for Security of the Kingdom*, which was carry'd by a great Majority, tho' not favour'd with the Royal Assent; put several

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ral conditional Nullities upon their coming into the same Succession with England, by declaring in the words of the Acts as follows, *Providing always, that the same (to wit, the Successor to the Crown of Scotland) be not the Successor to the Crown of England, unless that in this present Session of Parliament, and any other Session of this, or any other ensuing Parliament, during Her Majesty's Reign, there be such Conditions of Government settled and enacted, as may secure the Honour and Sovereignty of this Crown and Kingdom, the Freedom, Frequency, and Power of Parliaments, the Religion, Liberty, and Trade of the Nation from English, or any other foreign Influence; with Power to the said Meeting of Estates to add such farther Conditions of Government, as they shall think necessary, the same being consistent with, and no ways derogatory from those which shall be Enacted in this, and any other Session of Parliament during Her Majesty's Reign, And farther, but prejudice of the generality aforesaid, It is hereby specially Statuted Enacted and Declared, That it shall not be in the Power of the said Meeting of the Estates, to name the Successor of the Crown of England, to be Successor to the*

Imperial Crown of this Realm; nor shall the same Person be capable in any Event to be King or Queen of both Realms, unless a free Communication of Trade, the Freedom of Navigation, and the Liberty of the Plantations be fully agreed to, and establish'd by the Parliament and Kingdom of England to the Kingdom and Subjects of Scotland, at the Sight, and to the Satisfaction of this, or any ensuing Parliament of Scotland, or the said Meeting of the Estates.

Again, we find in an Address to Her Majesty by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of England in Parliament assembled, *die Mercurii, 29 Martii 1704*, the Opinion of that Honourable House declared, *That nothing has given so much Encouragement to Her Majesty's Enemies at Home and Abroad to enter into the detestable Conspiracy there mention'd, as That after Her Majesty and the Heirs of Her Body, the immediate Succession to the Crown of Scotland is not declared to be in the Princess Sophia, and the Heirs of Her Body, being Protestants. And therefore They humbly beseech Her Majesty, in regard to the Safety of Her own Royal Person, the Quiet of Her Reign, and the present and future Happiness and Peace*
of

British Kingdoms consider'd. 9

of Her People, to use Her Royal Endeavours, by all such Methods as Her Majesty in Her Wisdom shall judge most proper, to have the Succession of the Crown of Scotland declared to be settled upon the Princess Sophia, and the Heirs of Her Body, being Protestants.

From this Declaration of the Opinion of the Honourable House of Peers of *England*, with the Address founded thereon, and the aforementioned Resolutions and Declaration of the Estates of *Scotland*, the Question ariseth :

● In case the Scots adhere to the said two Clauses relating to the Settlement of their Government amongst themselves, Free from *England* and foreign Influence, &c. and relating to free Communication of Trade with *England*, before they declare the same Successor with *England*; and suppose that Her Majesty and the Kingdom of *England* do not agree to yield them those Concessions, What is next to be expected, as the Consequence of such a Difference betwixt the Two Kingdoms.

No Answer to this Question can be giv'n from the Mind of the Government of either Kingdom, because no body can know that, until it is by themselves declared ;

declared; which maketh way for divers Conjectures, according to the various Judgments of Persons about this matter.

Some say, If *England* stands out, *Scotland* will undoubtedly at length yield, and come into the Succession of *England* without Conditions.

Others say, If *Scotland* stands out, *England*, who know the Necessity of the Friendship of the Scots to their Security and Safety, will undoubtedly at length yield to all that *Scotland* demands, rather than hazard a Separation.

Some say, That *England* by its greater Power is able to force their Demands upon *Scotland*, and that they will do it by Conquest, if the Scots are stubborn and yield not.

Those Threatnings, tho' only in private Conversation, yet being from so powerful Neighbours, seem formidable to some of the Scots, who are of a more timorous Disposition.

But all that others make of them, who retain more of the bold and hardy Temper of their Ancestors, is to Encourage themselves by those and the like Assertions.

England

British Kingdoms consider'd 11

England can force nothing upon our Free and Independent Government, but with the height of Iniquity and Oppression; in which case we have the Laws of Nature and Nations, and the Justice of an Almighty God, and Lord of Hosts to appeal to. *Scotland* never yet submitted to open Oppression by Force of Arms from *England*; and we hope never to stain our Blood, and disgrace our Pedigree by a Disposition so slavish, feminine and degenerate, as to submit to it now. We have a just Cause; we have less to loose, and more to gain in the doubtful Event of War, than the English; and if they Conquer us, they shall not do it for nought.

While those various Thoughts are in Agitation amongst private Persons, a Book, as unlucky in such a Juncture, as in it self foolish and calumnious, is published in *England*, whereby the imprudent Author doth openly assault the Sovereignty of *Scotland*, pretending to prove the Dependency of their Government on that of *England*; and that if the Scots come not in voluntarily, *England* can of Right force them into the same Succession, which they have declar'd.

This

This Author will probably, before it is long, find that he hath bestow'd a great deal of Labour to no better effect, than the exposing the Weakness of his Judgment, in not being able to discern how far the Strength of the Arguments already made publick by Scots Authors on that Subject, doth exceed all those Trifles, which he has raked together to overturn them: And in not being able to discern, that instead of serving the Interest of the House of *Hanover*, as, I hear, he intended by that Book; he could not have taken a more effectual way in the World to counter-work and defeat his own Design, than by those means which he hath pitch'd on to promote it.

For the Debate about the Sovereignty of *Scotland* having lain asleep for about a hundred Years, with the Victory on the side of Sir *Thomas Craig*, by his Treatise upon Homage; whom no Man, before this more bold than wary Author, did venture to answer; The Scots without any Consideration of a matter so long put out of question, might, upon the Settlement of the Rights of their Government, have gone into the *Hanover* Succession, if they found it convenient, without asking farther Conditions.

Whereas

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Whereas this Book, if it is as much to be regarded as he thinks, and as many, as little knowing in the Affair as he, are like to conclude, makes it necessary in common Prudence, That *Scotland* cannot come into the said Succession, until the Settlement of some Conditions, less or more, by way of Compact with *England*; seeing thereby they should seem tacitly to give up this new awaken'd Plea of *England's* Sovereignty over them.

And if the Author were as well acquainted with the Humour of the Scots, as he ought to have been, before he resolv'd on his Persuasives to bring them over into the *Hanover* Succession, he would never have us'd an Argument of Force to terrifie them into his Measures, even tho' the Force he pleads for could have been supposed just; but much less, when he hath said nothing to free it from Tyranny and Oppression.

Yet to say the truth, the Author's Design in the main is not, perhaps, disagreeable to the Opinion of many in *England*, That *Scotland* in their weaker Circumstances can never stand out a Threatning of so much more powerful Neighbours; only with this difference,
That

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That they commonly threaten it right or wrong, whereas he threatens it as right; but by a Plea as injurious as theirs, who in their Threats pretend not to consider either right or wrong in the matter.

By what I have observ'd, relating to these different Subjects of Opinion and Discourse, my Curiosity came at length to be greatly stirred up To know the utmost Bottom of such various Pleas and Pretences; especially with respect to the probable effect of War, in case it should so happen, as God forbid, That those Two Nations were engag'd in it against one another.

The Issue of which Search was so Surprising, as to strike me with Amazement, To find the true state of that matter, after Examination, so quite different from what it appear'd at first view.

Whereof to give some general Gust before I enter upon Particulars; it was such as made me Admire To find the Concerns and Interests of these Two Kingdoms so Interwoven by a wonderful Providence, as makes it Impossible for either of them to make Advantage upon the other by War, tho' never so victorious; Each being providentially furnish'd with
such

British Kingdoms consider'd. 15

such a notable After-game, even tho' in the Extremity of a Conquest, as enables them to turn the Advantages of a Victory in favour of the Conquer'd, and against the Interest of the Conquerors; and this so as makes it impracticable for them to prevent it, be their Power what it will.

So that I hope to clear in the following part of the Treatise, this Paradox to be a plain and certain Truth.

That, tho' the greater Power of *England* makes a Conquest of *Scotland* by *England* more probable, than it is that *Scotland* can be able to prevent it; yet *Scotland*, tho' conquer'd, hath still a Refuge, and a Way remaining, whereby they can turn the Advantage of the Victory, against *England*, and to their own Benefit, without all possibility for the English to prevent it:

And That yet this matter is so happily ordered for the Good of Both, that *Scotland* will certainly never take this Advantage until they are Forced to it; and That, tho' at the utmost Extremity of Opposition, they are always capable to ruin *England*, more than *England* is capable to ruin them; yet *England* may be sure, That *Scotland* is never to attempt

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tempt any such thing against them, until by them it is first attempted against Scotland.

Than which I suppose no stronger Argument can be giv'n for Peace and Unity, if it can be solidly made appear, That a War betwixt them must not only be attended with all the common Dangers, Disturbances, and Inconveniences of War in general, but in their particular Circumstances and Relations to one another, must be utterly impracticable with any Advantage on either side, and must certainly entail greater Misery on the Conquerors, than on the Conquered.

But seeing there are divers other Reasons very forcible against War, and for Peace betwixt these Two Kingdoms beside those mention'd, from which Conclusions are inferred, so extraordinary and unexpected, That nothing may be omitted which can contribute to so happy a Design of Union and Peace, as is here propos'd; I shall endeavour to lay open, with Truth and Impartiality, all the Considerations and Motives ordinary and extraordinary for promoting it, so far as my Capacity can reach to comprehend them; and end with some Hortatory

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tatory Persuafives founded thereon to Each Nation.

The General Reasons which make a perpetual Settlement of Amity, Peace, and Friendship betwixt these two Nations, not only convenient but necessary for the good of Both may be consider'd as follows.

That they are next Neighbours, rendering them capable, when Enemies, to do great Mischief to one another, by sudden Inroads and Surprizes which cannot be foreseen or prevented; and Therefore a good Understanding and lasting Peace betwixt them are so much the more desirable, and necessary for their Mutual Interest, as a Breach is more dangerous by this Circumstance of Contiguity and Neighbourhood, than if they were remov'd at a greater distance from one another.

That they are each a Free People, and in their Original Constitution govern'd by two distinct free Governments; which is a mutual relation obliging them in Justice and Prudence to support one another in this Capacity, seeing the one cannot be subjected to a Slavish State, without threatening the like Fate to the other; Especially when they have in view a common Enemy pretending to a Tyrannous

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nous Universal Monarchy, wherein they are equally to be included, if he prevail.

That their mutual Relation to one another by mixture of Blood, and innumerable Intermarriages, makes it impossible that they can be Enemies to one another; but at the same time they must in a large measure be Enemies each to themselves: And therefore if it is true, that *the Contentions of Brethren are like the Bars of a Castle*, and that *Strife is as the letting out of Waters*, which still more and more widen their own Breach, no People in the World have greater reason to *leave off Contention*, before it is meddled with, than these Two Nations.

That Providence having allow'd them so strong a Guard of the invironing Ocean against all Enemies abroad, they cannot fall out amongst themselves, but at the same time they state themselves Slighters of that great Favour of God, and open a Gap to the Enemies of their Liberties Civil and Religious, putting a fair Opportunity in their Hand to take Advantage by their Divisions to push on their breaking of one another, to make way for their ruining of Both. And all
must

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must allow that such an Event would fall justly upon the Despisers of such beneficial Influences of Providence, above those of other Nations, which they would not regard, acknowledge, nor be satisfy'd with.

That *England* wanteth *Scotland* for shutting up a Back-door against foreign Invasion, and for Securing the Dependency of *Ireland*; and *Scotland* wanteth *England* for Securing themselves against so Potent Neighbours, against whom they have no Barrier.

That Both are equally engag'd by Honour and Conscience in the Defence of the Protestant Religion; which, in human Appearance, could not receive a more fatal Stroke, than by imbroiling these Two Kingdoms with one another; especially if a Popish Power were taken by the Hand to support the Quarrel.

But beside these Six weighty Reasons for Peace and Unity betwixt the Two Kingdoms, there are divers others which yet seem to look more Home, with respect to Politick Civil Interest, and thereby merit a serious Consideration on both sides.

Amongst these a Seventh is, That if we take a Review of past Experience, we shall find, That the Wars betwixt these Two Nations have been the longest, the fiercest, the most bloody, and most implacable that ever were betwixt any Two neighbouring People upon Earth.

The Histories of both Nations do verify this by a multitude of demonstrable, but very sad Instances.

And the Author of a late Book entitled, *Historia Anglo-Scotica*, tho' stuff'd with many Falshoods and great Partiality, hath yet some Expressions very true and pertinent to this purpose, page 42, where he says,

This — did not only put an end to the sweet Peace, and fair Correspondency which had continued between the Two Nations, during the Reign of the three last Scottish Kings; but was the occasion of the mortal Dissention, and most cruel War between the Two Kingdoms, which follow'd, and which lasted almost Three hundred Years; in which time there was more Devastation, Spoil, and Destruction, and more Effusion of Christian Blood on both sides, than ever was between any Two People of the World.

This

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This matter of Fact is literally true, tho' he assigns for it a wrong Cause, by asserting, That the occasion of it was *John Baliol's* Defection from *Edward* the First; whereas it really was, for the Injury and Affront done by the said *Edward* to the Sovereignty and Independency of *Scotland*.

However this deplorable Case of Both Kingdoms by those Wars may stand as a Beacon to warn all who are truly Well-wishers to either, to interpose what they can, and be upon their constant Guard against all such Differences and Animosities as may give occasion to any Breach betwixt them hereafter.

An Eighth Reason for the Necessity of Union and Peace I offer from the Consideration of the most unreasonable, unnatural, and impious Circumstances, wherewith these Wars were attended, and which no succeeding War, if any should happen, as God forbid, can ever be expected to be altogether free from.

Those were depopulating, wasting, plundering, ravaging, and destroying one another, especially in the bordering and nearest adjacent Countries.

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It was then thought no strange or uncommon thing for thirty, forty, or fifty thousand of the choicest and bravest of both Nations to fall in one Battel; nor for Men to be Possessors to Day of fine Houses, strong Castles, and great Quantities of valuable Goods, and Cattel, and to have nothing to Morrow.

The want of Peace, which is one of the greatest Blessings on Earth, the Uncertainty of Property, constant Slavery in supporting Liberty, Death staring every strong and lively Man in the Face; Proud Emulations, cruel Resentments, bitter Revenge, and dear bought Victories, were then the Conditions of the true State of both Nations, and the chief of all they had to boast of, or glory in.

Not considering That the best they could make of that way of perpetual Contention, however successful, could never raise them to a better Character amongst wise and good Men, than that of being equal to savage Brutes, preying upon, and devouring one another.

Yea so much worse, That Beasts often want to swallow up their Fellows, for the Support of their Lives; whereas these Nations having Each enough to live

British Kingdoms Consider'd. 23

live on by themselves, did choose of Despight rather to die untimely Deaths, than live in Peace with one another; accounting it, in a mad way of Reckoning, greater Satisfaction to do Hurt to their Neighbours, than Good to themselves; So that their Notion of Happiness was wholly perverted, and all they strove for was Loss on Both sides; while the Devil, who did blow the Coals, was laughing at Them, and became the only Gainer.

Now if any Man incline to go over to the Devil's side, who is now undoubtedly as busie as ever, and think of assisting him in Fomenting Jealousies, and Pressing unjust Demands, or Denying just ones on either side, for Preventing the Good Purposes of Those, who sincerely Intend and Endeavour Peace, they would remember That they are like to serve an Unthankful Master; who never yet had a better Reward, than a Lie to bestow on those, who Promote his Interest; and that he never Persuaded one to Fight, but who he would be glad to see the first, that should fall in the Battel.

A Ninth Reason for Union and Peace betwixt these Two Nations, may be

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taken from the Consideration of the absolute Fruitfulness to Both of all past Wars betwixt them, and the Impossibility That either the one or the other can ever make Advantage by any succeeding War, however successful.

If we look Backward, the whole Account of all the Gain that *England* hath been able to make of their Wars with *Scotland* for above Two Thousand Years past, excepting Intervals of Peace, amounts to no more, but the Town of *Berwick* and the Marble Chair; for which two Purchases they lost the Kingdom of *France*; which undoubtedly was owing to the Assistance giv'n to *France* by *Scotland*, especially in the Reigns of *Henry* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Sixth of *England*.

And if *France* became too strong for *England* only by the frequent Vigorous Aids which they received from *Scotland*, and by the Diversion of the English Forces, which the Scots oblig'd them to, by their Wars at Home; it is reasonable to suppose, That *France* could never have resisted an entire English Conquest, if they had had the same Assistance of *Scotland* for them, which was against them in the French Wars.

England

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England hath often had very considerable Advantages by the Friendly Concurrence of the Scots in their Wars; as by helping them against the Tyranny of the *Danes*, by supporting their Liberties against the Arbitrary Designs of *Charles* the First, by their Assistance against the Rebels in *Ireland*, and by their seasonable Joining with them in Asserting and Maintaining their Civil and Religious Rights at the Revolution.

But for any Profit they ever made by Warring with *Scotland*, I have giv'n the true Sum of it, and leave it to themselves to consider how dear it was bought.

And as to *Scotland*, all the Trophies which they have to boast of by their Wars with *England*, comes to a like small, but more fruitless Sum, to wit, The Sweetness of Revenge, which is the most cursed of all Pleasures; and their being Instrumental in laying a Foundation for that Exorbitant Power of *France*, which now equally Threatens them, as it doth *England*, with Tyranny and Slavery; and all the Protestants of *Europe* with the like Ruine and Extirpation, as they have lately suffered in *France*.

Again,

Again, if we look Forward, Suppose the greatest Success in War, that they are capable to gain, which would be to Conquer *England*, all that they could make of it, would be To set their King upon the Throne of *England*; which, it seems, they have little Cause to Boast of, for any Experience of Advantage they have had, or do own, by getting their Kings settled there without War for a Hundred Years past.

But so much worse in this Case, That by the Necessity of a Strong Force to keep under his Conquered Enemies, their King so exalted should, By their own Power and Counsels, be put in a Capacity to Laugh at their Limitations, Despise their Complaints and Grievances, and to Nail the Yoke of Slavery to their Necks for ever.

On the other Hand, Suppose *England* Conquers *Scotland*, the necessary Consequence must be their keeping up a Standing Army to maintain the Conquest.

And in this Event it may be Difficult to Determine, Whether a constant Standing Army, Commanded by the Scots in *Scotland*, before they are Conquer'd; who, as I have shew'd, can never find it

it their Interest to Trouble *England* with it, if *England* Troubles not them, is to be look'd upon as a Thing more Threatning and Formidable to the Liberties of *England*; or a Victorious Army there, under the Command of their own Kings; who being so often uneasie, by finding their Inclinations Restrain'd and Cross'd by the Measures of their Parliaments, are never like to slight an Opportunity, putting it in their Power to rid themselves of them.

If the English are so afraid to trust their Kings with any considerable Standing Army amongst themselves, how much more dangerous must it appear to trust them with an Army amongst a hardy Warlike People, Fretted with the Oppression of a Conquest? In which Circumstance *England* may be sure, That if ever a Quarrel should again happen betwixt their Kings and them, as sometimes there hath, Their King would always find the Scots unanimously as one Man, Ready and Zealous to Assist Him against His People of *England*, without enquiring into, or caring for the Ground of the Quarrel. And would be equally ready to Encourage and Promote all Rebellions at Home, and Invasions

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sions from Abroad, partly in Revenge, and partly in Hopes of Amending their Circumstances.

By mutual Friendship, Peace, and a fixed Good Understanding, *Scotland* may be very Useful to *England*, and *England* likewise to *Scotland*; and their United Strength, when freed from Jealousies of one another, must not only Prove a great Security to themselves against all Foreign Attempts; but also Contribute, in a much larger Measure than now, to the Support of the Liberties of *Europe*, and General Protestant Interest.

Whereas, on the other Hand, no greater Act of Imprudence, or rather Madness, can be imagin'd possible to enter into the Hearts of any People, than for either of those Two Nations to think of a War with one another, after considering, as is here clear'd, That Two thousand Years past Experience proves, That no manner of Profit could ever be made of it on either side; and a prudent Foresight demonstrates, That nothing but Loss, and Increase of Danger, and Inconvenience to Both can ever be expected from it, in time coming, go the Victory as it will,

The

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The Tenth and last Argument for the Necessity of Union and Peace betwixt these Two Kingdoms, shall be taken from a farther and more particular Consideration and Enumeration of the Dangerous and bad Consequences of a Rupture on Both sides.

In prosecuting this Argument, I shall Endeavour impartially to lay open all the Inconveniences, Dangers, and Mischiefs, beside those already mention'd; which, so far as I am able to comprehend them, must attend a Breach of Peace in Both Kingdoms, with the particular Disadvantages that each Nation is under for engaging therein: That so, by a more full view of all the unavoidable Evils and Hazards of War, the Necessity of a perpetual Amity betwixt them, may yet more Plainly and Convincingly appear.

And because the Method of an Oratory Address hath some Persuasive Advantages and Force of Conviction in it, which a bare Narratory Account hath not; I shall suppose a War ready to break forth, and that at a Separate Meeting of a Leading Party in Each Nation, having the whole Matter under their Disposal, one stands up, and in a Free

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Free Discourse delivers his Sentiments about the Consequences of War, and the Circumstances of Each Nation relating to it, in manner following; and First To the Scots.

GENTLEMEN,

A Rash and a well Advised War Differ in this, That the Former proceeding from the Ferment of a Heated Temper, hath nothing in View but Sense of Injury, Resentment, Revenge, and Mistaken Honour, with some Uncertain and ill Digested Probabilities of Redress, or Gain; Whereas, The Other is always the Effect of a deliberate Counsel, whereby those Concern'd do in cold Blood, and with a prudent Foresight of possible Events, Examine the Condition of those, with whom they are to debate, and their own, and Balance fairly the One with the Other, for preventing their running themselves unadvisedly into greater Inconveniencies, than those they are under, by choosing a Remedy
improper

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improper for Amending or Bettering their Circumstances.

Tho' the Authority of the Spokesman did not oblige your belief; yet the Reasonableness of the thing must force your Consent, That a Wise People, going to War with another People, ought first to sit down, and Consult with themselves, *Whether they are able with Ten Thousand to meet those who come against them with Twenty Thousand; or else, while the other is yet a great way off, to send an Ambassage, and desire Conditions of Peace.*

You are not ignorant, That *England* doth far exceed You in Numbers of Men, but much more in Wealth and Riches, enabling them to support a War against You, until perhaps You are not only Weary'd, but also out of Capacity to make so good Terms with them, as You may now, before You have made them Your declared Enemies.

And tho' You should flatter Your selves with what is really true, That *the Race is not always to the Swift, nor the Battel to the Strong*; yet You would Remember, That the Time and Chance, which Determine that Matter, are no ways in Your Power; and, That it cannot be
the

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the part of wise Men to Involve themselves into known Difficulties, in Hopes of a Contingency to Extricate them.

If You calmly turn Your Eye upon Your Present Circumstances, You must find it reasonable for You to Consider,

That before the Union of the Two Crowns, and in the former Times of Your Wars with *England*, You had a great Number of Strong Castles, well Furnish'd Garrisons, and Fortify'd Towns, whereof I am able to name Fifty, and perhaps there were Fifty more: and That now You have not above Six, to wit, *Edinburgh Castle, Sterling, Dumbarton, Blackness, Fort William*, and the *Bast*; the last whereof You have also lately dislodg'd, tho' the strongest and most invincible Hold in *Europe*: And That You have neither Castle, Garrison, nor Fortify'd Town, either upon or near the Border.

That in Former Reigns, and before the said Union of the Two Crowns, You had a considerable Number of Ships of War, enabling You to carry often into *France* and from *France* large Forces, sometimes of Five Thousand, sometimes of Ten Thousand Men at a time, and parti-

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particularly in the Reigns of *Henry* the Fifth and Sixth of *England*, without any Fear of the English at Sea. And both in the Reign of King *James* the Fifth, and during the Regency of Queen *Mary*, You were able to debate with the English at Sea, and to overcome them in several Encounters; and, That You are now Masters only of Three small Frigats, which for pinching their Charge You have laid up to rot, and leave Your inmost Coasts to be infested with French Privateers, to the great Prejudice of Your Trade, and Dishonour of Your Country; Whereas, in the mean time, *England* hath Fourty stout Ships of War for every one of these Your Frigats.

That in the Dutch Wars You had at Sea a hundred Privateers, whereby You did more Hurt to the Hollanders, than the English did by the Royal Navy; and that now You have not one Privateer out in all the Kingdom.

That Your Ships of Trade are sunk to almost one half of what they have been in the present Age, which must necessarily suppose a great Decay in Your National Strength for War.

You have lately also been farther weakened by five sad Years of Famine,

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the great Fire in *Edinburgh*, and by the Miscarriage of Your Costly Expedition to *Darien*; whereby Your Treasure is Wasted, Your Spirits Dejected, and Your Power in a large measure Abated.

You had at the Revolution Thirty Thousand Able Men, and well Arm'd of the Western and Southern Shires; who, for Security of their Religion and Liberties, had Arm'd and Train'd themselves under Commanders of their own choosing; and who continu'd for several Years their constant Summer Musters, Exercise of Arms and Discipline of War, and being all Resolute and well Cloath'd Men, might have been reputed inferior to no Standing Troops in *Europe* of that Number.

These out of a fond Security have slighted their Guard, and laid themselves open to any Insults; and the Nation hath thereby lost the Strength of a Force, which in any National Quarrel might have prov'd as good, or better, than an equal Number of a Standing Army.

You have for a long time made no effectual Review of Your well appointed Twenty Thousand Foot and Two Thousand Horse, which You had in Readiness, during all the Reign of *Charles* the Second.

You

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You have ever since the Union of the Two Crowns abandon'd Your National Discipline, and Training of all Ranks to the Knowledge and Exercise of Arms, whereby Your whole Kingdom, from Sixty to Sixteen, were always in an equal Posture to so many of a constant Disciplin'd Army; and have betaken Your selves to that ridiculous Defence of Your Country by four or five Thousand Standing Forces; while the rest are left in the Quality of an Undisciplin'd Mob; at least until you have more effectually consulted your National Interest, by Renewing Your Ancient Warlike Discipline of all Your People, according to the Seasonable Opportunity allow'd You by Your late Act of Security.

You had a few Years ago expert Founders, for casting of Cannon, and Makers of Gun-powder, as Good as any You can bring from Abroad; yet for want of due Encouragement, You have let both these Arts fall amongst You: So that now You cannot Cast one Cannon, nor Command one Barrel of Powder within Your selves, and of Your own Manufacture, tho' You were reduced to the last Extremity.

You lost in the Affair of *Darien* about Two Hundred Pieces of Cannon, and

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have been so careless to make up that Loss, that You have now perhaps scarce so many remaining in all Your Garrisons.

Your great Magazine of Arms, which You had in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, is long ago much exhausted.

And Your National Stock of Money is by the mention'd Disasters, which You have lately undergone, grown so low, as renders You very unfit at present to attempt or undertake any great matter.

How then can You in these Circumstances think of entring into a War with any Nation whatever, but much less with such a Mighty and Potent Nation as *England*; Especially if You may enjoy Peace on Terms less Chargeable, and less Dangerous to Your Safety, than those of War?

Shall they not be able perpetually to Infest You with their East and West Border Garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*?

Shall they not be able to flow in upon You, as a Deluge, when they please, with great Numbers of Men, Cannon, Mortars, Bombs, and Carcasses, and all other Engines of War, which they have in Plenty, in all the large and open
Space

British Kingdoms Consider'd. 37

Space betwixt these Two Garrisons where ou have neither Fort nor Garrison to stop them?

Shall they not be able by their Fleets at Sea to lay in Ashes all Your Sea-port Towns, and to ruin entirely Your Trade; so that a Ship can no sooner set out her Head out of all Your numerous Creeks, Rivers and Harbours, but she must, Twenty to One, immediately become a Prey to Your Enemies?

And when the Ammunition, and Warlike Stores You are Masters of at the beginning of a War, are consum'd, blown up, or taken, What will You do for more? When the English having the Command of all Your Seas, will be able to hinder You from Getting either Cannon, Arms, Powder, or any other Needful Thing from Abroad.

I therefore being a Sincere Well-wisher of Your Happiness, cannot after these Reflections Refrain from Exhorting You in a most Affectionate Concern for You, with a Due Respect to Your Honour and other National Interests, To Consider Your own Circumstances in all these Points, the Great Inequality of the Power and Numbers of Your Enemies, and the many other Strong Reasons, which I

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have Offer'd against Your going into War; Especially that whereby I have so plainly clear'd.

That, were Your Own and Your Enemies Circumstances no ways such, as I have mention'd, and had You, on the Contrary, all the Advantages for War that Your Hearts can Wish, and were You as sure of Victory, as You are of Fighting; yet it is Impossible for You to make any Thing of it, but what in the last Issue You shall find more Loss by, than Gain.

For suppose the greatest and utmost Success, that You can propose to Your selves, which is to Conquer *England*, all that You could expect, as the Ultimate End of that Victory, were to set Your King upon their Throne, to Abolish their Parliaments, and Govern them in a State of Slavery, by Arbitrary Power, through Your Assistance.

Now can any Man reasonably Imagine That a King Flush'd with Victory, Drunk with the Sweetness, and Puff'd up with the Pride of an Absolute Monarchy, over so Populous and Mighty a People as the English, would ever be Satisfy'd to have His Will any whit a Positive Law less amongst You, than amongst Them?

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Them? Or That *England* would not Assist Him, or that He would not Accept of their Assistance to Conquer You next, and make Your Circumstances, with respect to Tyranny and Slavery, as bad as theirs?

Yea, and much worse, seeing the Natural Sense of so much Ingratitude in such a Fact, with the Fear of a Just Recompence, would undoubtedly Oblige Him to keep You Low, Poor, and Miserable, for Preventing Your Revenge, and Securing Himself against all Capacity in You to Resent what He had done.

Now if this is the Best that You can make of the Best and most Prosperous Success of Your War, I may leave it to Your selves to Cast up the Account, what You are like to make, by being overcome, which is the more Probable of the Two.

Will You then Resolve to make Your Wives Widows, Your Children Helpless Orphans, Your Houses, Villages, and Towns Desolate and Ruinous Heaps, Your Country a Wilderness, and the Flower of Your Choice and Bravest Men, being overwhelm'd by Superiority of Force and Numbers, to Die in the Field, or in a

40 *War betwixt the Two*

Ditch in the Heat of Revenge, without, perhaps, the Favour of one Moment to beg God's Mercy and Forgiveness; and all in a Quarrel, wherein You cannot only have no solid Prospect of Gain, but may reasonably Foresee certain Loss to Your selves and Posterity in the best Event that you can propose by it?

And for any Relief You can Expect in those Circumstances from Foreign Assistance, You have none to take by the Hand, but the French King.

In which Case You must Act after a manner equally inconsistent with Your Safety, as if one Assaulted by a Robber should call a Tyger to rescue him.

Can You think an Arbitrary and Absolute Monarch a fit Assertor and Supporter of Your Rights and Liberties as a Free People?

Can You Reflect on the Cruelty and Insolence of their Last Treatment in Queen *Mary's* Regency, which Oblig'd You to call for the Assistance of Queen *Elizabeth* to Expel them from amongst You; and yet be so fond and blind, as to expect better Usage from them, when so much more powerful, and openly Grasping at an Universal Monarchy?

Can

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Can You reasonably Suppose That a Bigotted Popish Prince is ever like to prove a Sincere Defender of Your Protestant Faith?

And can You imagine That God will Bless or Prosper You in Joining with a Declared Enemy of that Religion, wherein only You hope for the Mercies of God, and an avow'd Persecutor of those, whom You own to be the Favourites of Heaven?

No Man can seriously Consider the Things which You say You Believe, the contrary Principles and Practices of the French King, with the Being of a Just God; but he must have Ground to conclude, from his seeing the Scots admit a Popish French Power amongst them, That God had forsaken them, and left them to the Madness of their own Hearts, because he had a mind to Destroy them.

Must You not openly Abandon the Favour and Help of the Omnipotent King, and Chief Captain, Commander, and Lord of all the Hosts in Heaven and on Earth, by making their Strength Your Confidence, whom You own to be His open Enemies?

And

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And must You not thereby give up to *England* Your best Defence, in case they should unjustly Oppress You, Stating them, through Your Default, on God's side, when You have made them Your Enemies, and leaving Your selves under the Dreadful Threatnings of His Displeasure, who hath said, and cannot lie, *Cursed be he, who maketh Flesh his Arm, and whose Heart departeth from the Lord ?*

And for any Imagination You may entertain of frightening *England* by a French Power on Your side, it may Justly appear to them a last Shift on Your Part, as Desperate, and neither Better nor Wiser, than if a Suitor intending Marriage should, after other Means failing, at length send word to her, whom he Courts, That, if she admits him not into her Favour, he is resolv'd to cut his own Throat.

I therefore Obtest You, in the Sight of God, That out of Love to Your Country, to Your Selves, Your Souls, Bodies, Estates, and Families; and out of respect You owe to Your own Honour, and Reputation of Prudence amongst all Nations, and to Your Dearest Relations and Posterity for ever; and last of all,
out

out of Regard to Your Holy Religion, and out of Conscience and Duty to God, who hath commanded You *to seek Peace and pursue it* ; and hath giv'n You the Encouragement of Entailing, by Promise, a Blessing on the Peace-Makers, You turn Your Thoughts in time to other Measures, and laying Down those Arms, which, on all the Accounts mentioned, Threaten more Mischief to Your selves, than to those, whom You are to make Your Enemies by them, You immediately Resolve to go upon the Consideration of the best Means for Promoting a Perpetual Amity and Good Understanding with Neighbours, whose Favour with Peace may be very Assisting, Comfortable, and Useful to You, and whom You can never hurt by Hostility, without hurting Your selves as much, or more, than them.

After all, I would not have You think, That I, who have said so much to Dissuade You from a Rash War, Do any ways intend to Persuade You, To any other Rash Settlement of Your Publick Affairs in the Present Juncture ; which, all Things Consider'd, may prove as Fatal to You, if not more, than the other,

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One Extream and another Extream are always equally to be shun'd, seeing neither Vertue, Prudence, Happiness nor Safety are to be found in either.

Your Circumstances are now such by the Prospect You have of the Vacancy of the Throne at the Terminating of the present Succession, as perhaps they are never to be again, or at least You are never to see them.

And therefore the ordering Your National Concerns aright, with respect to that Period, the Occasion it lays in Your way, and the Advantage it gives You, appears to be a Matter of as high Consequence to You and Your Posterity, as ever any former Generation of all Your Ancient Predecessors had before them.

I would therefore have You think upon the most essential Means You can take, to please *England* on Reasonable Terms, and at the same time, to please Your Selves on the same Terms: To satisfy *England* about their Jealousies of You, and at the same Time to satisfy Your Selves about Your Jealousies of them: To secure them of Your good Neighbourhood, so as equally to secure Your selves of theirs: and finally to consult the Good and Interest of *England* in
Your

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Your Amicable Conjunction with them, but still so, as prudently mindful of Your own.

The Sum of all that this Advice pretends to, is to Stir You up to endeavour an Equal, and shun a Halting Agreement, that must go up on the One Side, and down on the Other: and That by all means You so manage the present Opportunity for attaining that happy Issue of it, as to make *England* Your Friends; but by no means so, as to forget to be Friends to Your selves.

And I am persuaded, That, if Right Methods are taken on Your part, You may gain both these Advantages, and free Your selves from innumerable Evils, and Inconveniences, which the Loss of either must entail upon You.

The two Heads, to which You did first confine Your Resolutions in the Act of Security, are The Rectifying Abuses introduced upon Your Constitution, by stretching the Prerogative in some of the Late Reigns, with the Restoring the Customs, Privileges, Rights and Independency of Your Ancient Government from all Foreign Influence, and a Free Communication of Trade with *England*.

Which

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Which Last You have now chang'd into a Treaty about Trade, and other National Concerns.

And seeing Your obtaining the former, with some one or other mutual Compact about the Latter, for the common Benefit of Both, are things in themselves so Reasonable, Just, and Necessary to the conserving of Peace and Unity, without which neither *England* can never expect a lasting good Understanding with You, nor You with them; it is not to be doubted but You must at length gain both these Designs, if You can have Patience to wait for them.

And if I can satisfy You, as I hope I shall in the following Discourse, That You have no more Reason to fear any Force from *England*, than they have to fear it from You; being thereby Fortify'd against all Pushing and Threatning You into precipitate Measures, You will, I suppose, be prepared for one of the most seasonable Advices that can be given You in Your present Circumstances, which is, *Sat cito, si sat bene*; Answering to Your *Scots* Proverbs: *He that well Bides, well Betides*. And there never came ill after good Advisement.

I am

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I am so far from intending by this Advice to put You upon any unnecessary Delays in doing what Your National Good makes it Your Interest to be done speedily, and particularly with respect to Your consenting with *England* in Settling the Succession, upon their consenting with You in other Matters, wherein You are Nationally concern'd, that on the contrary I am in that Case as much for Dispatch as any Man.

For, if indeed You have maturely Consider'd what You want for Recovering Your Ancient Rights, Liberties, and Privileges, as a Free and Independent People, lost by Your coming under one Monarch with *England* without any Compact with them, and can have a Redress; And if You have alike well Consider'd on what Terms You are like to be Easier Neighbours of *England* under one Monarch in Time coming, with Respect to Trade, and other National Concerns, than formerly You have been, or now are; and how their Jealousies of Your Thriving, and Your Jealousies of their Influencing Your, and at the same time Their Monarchs, to Your Prejudice, all occasion'd by want of Compact, may be for the future prevented; and

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and if You can obtain those Terms, I see no Cause why You should not immediately settle the Succession of Your Crown on the same Person, on whom *England* have settled the Succession of Theirs.

Especially considering, That Your present Circumstances do not allow You any Reasonable Prospect of setting up a Separate Monarchy, without a Charge, that You are not able to Bear, without a Defence, that You are not Prepared for, and without putting Your selves under such other great Difficulties and Dangers, as do more Threaten Your Ruin, than any Bettering Your State, that You can reasonably propose to Your selves thereby.

While, on the other Hand, by Joining with *England*, Your Publick Charge is Insensible, Your Dangers by War Prevented, Your Peace secur'd, and Your National Interests in a large Measure Provided for and Advanced; both by those Concessions from them, which You may reasonably expect in a Friendly Agreement, and by those, which Her Majesty seems Inclined to, for making You and Your Government as effectually Independent of *England* in Your Union with them under one Monarch,

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Monarch, as they and theirs are of You.

Yet, seeing the present Condition of Your Affairs puts You in hazard either of Ruining, or at least Subjecting to many Inconveniencies, both Your selves and Your Posterity, more Ways than One; it is Your Interest to be on Your Guard, on all the Various Sides, in which You may be attack'd; not only by open Force, but by secret and undermining Artifice; which, if not warily observ'd, and provided against, may prove the more Dangerous of the Two.

This is what I am affraid You have not perhaps so full a View of, nor are so well prepared for, as is needful to your Safety, or to the Rectifying and Securing Your Rights and Liberties, and Advancing Your other National Concerns suitably to the Advantages You have for so Doing.

My Judgment herein is Founded upon the Consideration of those Measures, which some endeavour to Promote amongst You, and others incline to embrace; of whom, tho' I cannot say, That they are not Your Friends; yet I may say, That their Zeal for Your Good is not according to Knowledge.

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Some I find perswaded Themselves, and inclin'd to persuade You, That, if You can recover such a Security of Your Rights and Liberties, and have such Limitations on Your Monarchs, as You were possess'd of in the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, and the Year Forty One, You ought to be satisfy'd therewith, as if You had all that You want for Rectifying Your Constitution.

Whereas on the contrary it appears reasonable to Judge, That no such Security ought to be accounted Sufficient, while Your own Experience can tell You, That it hath been, and is now altogether Defeated, and thereby prov'd insufficient for attaining the End design'd by it.

If a Prerogative and a Prelatick Party joyning together, have been able to overturn all the Advantages; which You thought You had then gain'd, for securing Your Liberties; You must in Reason either have a better Security, or leave Your selves still open to the Chance of a like Event, whenever Your Monarchs incline to Push it.

My humble Opinion as to that Matter, is, That while You are to be under one Monarch with *England*, and Your Monarch

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Monarch to reside amongst them, You can never have any such Security for Your Rights and Liberties, as You can call Your own, nor any such Limitations of Your Monarchs, being at the same time Theirs, as You can be reasonably sure are to be observ'd, however settled by Your own Laws; unless You have them also agreed to and fortify'd by the Laws of *England*, conform to mutual Articles of National Compact, consented to by Both.

To Imagine That a King of *England* must find Himself concern'd to observe to *Scotland* Conditions of Limiting Himself, for the Notion of being their King, without any Concurrence of the *English* Government, seems neither to regard the Tendency of Human Nature, in Kings as well as Others, nor how Inconsistent it is with any reasonable Contrivance or Consequence of an Obligatory Settlement, to expect that the Terms of it should become effectual to all Concern'd on the one Side, while a Principal Part of those Concern'd on the other, are no ways Engag'd by it.

I cannot otherways look upon it, than as a necessary Effect of the Union of the Two Kingdoms under One Monarch,

That *England* is thereby concern'd, and will always in that Circumstance both concern themselves in *Scots* Affairs, and also be sure to take the Advantage to themselves in any Competition of distinct National Interests, until such a way of removing Jealousies, composing Differences, and mutual Agreement by National Compact is found, as shall in some Degree of Equality so balance Giving and Receiving of Benefit on each Side, as may make it the sensible Interest of Both for ever to Stand To, and Maintain what is so happily concluded betwixt Them.

Such a Happy Agreement I not only suppose, but do see how it may be practicable, to the great Advantage of Both Nations; which is the chief Motive, that hath made me so much Insist, both in a former Treatise and now, on those Reasons, which plead for a Federal Settlement betwixt them.

And, seeing I have both there and here propos'd to my self the Common Interest of Both Kingdoms, as the fixed Standard, to which I have squared, and am to square all my Reasonings, I hope so powerful a Persuasive cannot fail to prevail at length, when the Matter is Set
into

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into a due Light, and those Mistakes remov'd, which incline too many to go into contrary Measures.

Another Party amongst You, led over the due Consideration of Their own Interest by the like Mistakes, are the Presbyterians, most of whom, as I am inform'd, are for Rushing into the *Hanover* Succession with a very easie Composition about their Civil Concerns, - for securing their Ecclesiastick, as they pretend, and preventing *Jacobite* Designs, which so much threaten their Communion particularly, and the total overturning of their Kirk, as at present Settled by Law.

But if this Method of Policy has any thing in it of a prudent way of Judging about future Events, or if it is not a *Daulphine* Shift proposing no better Security from Ruin, than a Shutting the Eyes from Seeing the Danger; or if it seems not more to Regard the favourable Influence of a Rising Sun, than the Common Benefit, and General Good, either of Church or State, I must confess it to be above my Reach,

On the contrary, it seems to be a very obvious way of Reasoning probably about this Matter, That a Prince entering

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upon the Government of *England*, Owning, and Oblig'd to Support an Episcopal Settlement of that Church, is not like to be Unpersuadeable, by Sollicitations from an Episcopal Party in *Scotland*, Backed by the Influence of the Clergy and their Friends in *England*, to put Both Kingdoms on one Foot of Ecclesiastick Establishment, for Preventing Dangers by a Divided Interest, if no other Bonds are to be broke, nor Obligations to *Scotland* to be frustrated, save those that may be Drawn from the Formality of offering a Claim of Right, which the first Prince, that ever Accepted it, did not think Himself concern'd to Observe in all Points.

They argue, That they will have the Moderate Church Party of *England* on their side; whereas, if that Moderate Party are Faithful to their own Principles, they must be as much for Episcopacy in *Scotland*, as the High-flown Party; seeing they are persuaded that no such Ecclesiastick Settlement hath ever been there since the Reformation, but what was as moderate, or more, than that which themselves pretend to.

And as to their Fear from *Jacobites*, and a French Invasion, it seems reasonable

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ble to Judge, That nothing can give those Enemies such Advantage for overturning their Constitution, both Civil and Ecclesiastick, as the Fretting Discontents and Grudges, that must arise from the Sense of a Rash and Precipitate Reunion with *England*, being afterward felt prejudicial to Your National Interests, making You thereby universally Uneasie, and liable to those Complaints and Resentments, which naturally must incline You to Gape after a Change.

So that such an Agreement by Compact with *England*, as must make You equally easie in Your Civil and Ecclesiastick Concerns, can only appear the most Prudent Way of Securing both, and most Favourable to the Protestant Interest in General, in the Eyes of all, excepting such of You, as are Resolv'd, to Divide our Saviour's Precept, by shewing Your selves *Simple as Doves, but not Wise as Serpents.*

You are now by Law Impower'd to Arm and Discipline Your selves, and if You do that effectually, You may, in all Human Probability, Secure Your selves against all the Power and Art of a French and Popish Interest; seeing none are to

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be Employ'd in Your National Host, but who are most strictly Engag'd to the Maintaining Her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Religion, by a Solemn Abjuration of the Principles of Popery.

If You are Wise, and Faithful to Your own Profess'd Principles of the Reform'd Religion, You will not fail to Improve that Opportunity for Securing Your Religious and Civil Rights, being the best that ever You had for that End, since the Reformation.

And, seeing that Vain Shadow of National Defence by a small Standing Army, which You have so long fondly hug'd, and which was never Worth to You on any Account the Hundredth Part of what it hath Cost You, must now become more Useless and Unnecessary than ever, when You are possess'd of a Defence much more preferable, it may deserve Your Consideration, if You can more prudently bestow that Charge in Your present Circumstances, than by keeping in full Pay all the Officers for Assisting the Nobility and Gentry in Training their Tenants, and Exercising them to the Discipline of War, and Disbanding all the rest of the Souldiery, except

cept Guards and Garrisons, with the Serjeants and Drummers of those Disbanded.

Whereby the Nation will be Eas'd of a considerable Part of their usual Publick Charge, Enabling them to buy up those Arms, which they are ordered to provide by the late Act of Security.

And if Your own Artificers are Employ'd in making them, You will save Your Money from going Abroad, and Encourage Your own Tradesmen in a National Service so Useful and Necessary, as it never ought to be Wanting among You.

As to those mention'd, and all other Scruples and Fears, which You of the Presbyterian Communion can be under, and as to the Difficulties that may arise therefrom, about the Prudent Management of Your Interest with Relation thereto; If I were Worthy to give You Advice, it would be, To Persuade You by all means, That the best Human Policy You can use, and not only no ways Inconsistent with the strictest Principles of Religion, but most agreeable thereto, is, That You always be, and appear on their side, who stand up most for the Civil Rights, Liberties, and Interests of Your Country.

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In which Case You have no Cause To be afraid, tho' the most Opposite Parties to Your Persuasion, whether Episcopal, *Jacobite*, or Friends of a French Interest Do, on other Accounts, appear in the same Claim with You.

Because a Shew of National Interest being the only Handle, by which they can Move, or ever hope to Prevail, You making Use of the same Handle, with a real Purpose of Promoting Publick Good, must always be Able at length to out-do them, who only Use it, as a Pretext to carry on contrary Designs.

Seeing thereby You make Your selves Masters both of their Art and Power, and do Effectually Gain the Advantage of Wrestling out of their Hands those very Weapons and Stratagems, by which only they can ever hope to Overcome You.

All Men know, That the French are Levelling their Counsels and Endeavours at an Universal Monarchy, with the Rooting out of the Protestant Religion.

All Scots Men know, That the Late King *James* did openly Assume so high a Degree of Arbitrary Power, as by His Proclamations to Rescind Your Acts of Parlia-

Parliament, and Declare all His Subjects Oblig'd to Obey His Absolute Commands without Reserve.

And it is alike well known, That while He was Pursuing the most Effectual and Speedy Methods for settling this His Despotick Power, and Ruining both the Religion and Civil Liberties of the Three Kingdoms, all the Bishops of *Scotland* did Subscribe an Extolling Address to Him, wherein they Complemented Him, as the *Darling of Heaven*: And that the same Prelatick Party hath, ever since the Reformation, Concurr'd in all those Stretches of the Prerogative, which left You no more, but a Shadow and bare Name of a Free Government.

This it is, which puts so much Justice on the side of Your present Complaints and Endeavours for a Redress, before Your Uniting again with *England*, and in effect on the side of all, who stand up for that Cause, be the secret Tendency of their Inclinations what it will.

This it is, that hath made some Faithful Patriots of their Country's Interest Friends to You, and Enemies to the Re-establishing Episcopacy amongst You, altho' themselves are of the Episcopal Persuasion.

And

And the Felt Experience of such imminent Dangers to Religion and Civil Liberty by a Popish King, Subjected to the Pope's Authority, and Acted by Jesuit Counsels, is That, which makes many Dread and Abhor the Thoughts of the Government of a New King *James*, tho' real Well-wishers to His Person.

If therefore You Consider Your own Circumstances aright, You cannot but plainly see, That all these Your Enemies are under great Disadvantages, in their Competition with You, through the Prejudices so justly conceiv'd against them on the mention'd Accounts; and That Your selves being chargeable with none of them, have a mighty Advantage against them, if wisely Improv'd.

And That the only Critical Point, which must Determine this Your Wise Improvement of the Advantage which Providence Favours You with, against those, who wait for Your Halting, is, Your open Appearing for the Civil Interests of Your Country, and standing Firm and Faithful thereto on all Occasions.

Seeing You will easily be Believ'd to be Sincere in that Matter, which is Your true Interest, while Others are doubted,
whose

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whose Interest is known or suspected to lie another way.

And also because Your Common Reputation, as yet, hath been under no such Indelible Blots of Opposition to National Liberty and Publick Good, as that of others hath been.

The Chief Errors of that Nature, which You are Challengeable for, are Two; to wit,

Your Precipitate Going into the Measures of the Revolution, before Obtaining those Terms from *England* for Your Civil Interest, which then You might have had; and also upon so easie Conditions for Securing Your Ecclesiastick, as had very near Cost You the Overturning Your Establishment in the late Reign; and which makes You sensible to this Day, That You have no Security for it, but what is Precarious, and Depends on the Mutable Inclination of the Prince.

The Other is, Your Going over so Generally into the Measures of the Court, Founded in an English Interest, and so manifestly Opposite to Your National Concern, in the Affair of *Darien*.

But,

But, tho' these Mistakes of Your own Interest, as well as the Neglect of that of Your Country, do Stick in the Minds of many, and are ready to be Thrown by Your Enemies in the Teeth of those that would Plead for You; yet You have a Plea remaining, whereby You may easily Defeat their Designs, and Prove all those Your Failings to be Expiable Crimes of Infirmary, if now You Resolve to Act more prudently by Uniting, and Knitting together with an Inseparable Bond the General Good, and Civil Interests of Your Country, with all those, that You can call Your own, whether Civil or Ecclesiastick.

If God shall be pleas'd to Inspire You with this Wisdom, I dare take upon me to Prophecy, or at least, foretel a certain Event, from a clear Prospect of Reasonable Consequence, That Presbyterian Government is Fixed in *Scotland*, and the Designs of its Enemies Defeated for ever.

But, if You go into a Second, or rather a Third Rash Conjunction with *England*, counting the First Union of the Two Crowns for one, without duly considering how Your Civil, as well as Your Ecclesiastick Interests, may be better provided

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ded for, and secured, than hitherto they have been, since the mention'd Period; You shall thereby so much Abandon the Strength and Advantage, which Providence lays before You, and so much Surrender that Strength and Advantage into the Hands of Your Enemies, to be Employ'd against You, That Your being Overcome, and their Prevailing before it is long, seems as Reasonable to conclude from the Common Method of Providence, as That in the Case of Two Armies appearing against one another, That Side must certainly have the Victory, to whom the other Resigns their Weapons.

Your relying on Great Men and Courtiers may prove to You a broken Reed, by their Death, or the Ceasing of their Power, or by a new Prospect of their particular Interest, or by National Jealousies of their Inclinations and Fidelity, as to their Country's Interest.

And Your Depending on the Favour of Kings and Princes may likewise Disappoint You; seeing They also are Mortal, may Change their Minds on new Emergents, and are liable to be Influenced by those, whom they are more concern'd to Please, than You.

But

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But let the Presbyterians be true to their Countries Civil Interest, and on all Occasions appear Zealous Assertors and Promoters of it, and be still on the side of those, who are openly for Advancing Publick Good, be their hid Designs what they will; and the Power and Command of *Scotland* is theirs for ever.

Seeing thereby they not only Secure and Strengthen all who with them are sincerely for Promoting the Civil Interests of the Nation; but also do effectually Stop the Mouths of all their Enemies, and in a manner Force them either to appear for them, or lose their Reputation, as having no other Handle to work by, but that before mention'd, which is Pretension to National Interest.

And thus having none but Friends or Foes to be concern'd with, and all their Friends being Cordially, and all their Enemies under a Necessity to be feignedly on their side, what is there to hinder them from being Masters of the whole Strength and Interest of the Kingdom?

Neither is there any that will or dare Grudge them all the Security they can Desire for their Ecclesiastick Rights, while



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while all must Confess, That they are the Best and most Inflexible Assertors and Supporters of Civil Rights and Publick Good.

But, if other Rhetorick than mine is able to Influence You to a contrary Opinion, The Consequence seems to be very Natural, and at no great Distance, That a Shadow of Pretension to Publick Good must in all Probability gain the Victory, and divide the Spoil so, as shall make Your share suitable to Your Choice.

And when Your Enemies have Prudently Improv'd the Advantages which You have Imprudently Slighted, the Best that You can make of Your Stricter Pretensions to Religion must be Your Verifying the Saying of our Saviour, *That the Children of this World are Wiser in their Generation, than the Children of Light.*

Another mistaken Expedient, which You are Prompted to by some, as the best You can take, for Advancing and Securing Your National Interest, is An Incorporating Union with *England.*

I suppose no Body will expect that I should Plead for this, who knows, that tho' I now personate another, I have

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said

said so much against it in the Treatise mention'd in the Title Page.

Where I have shew'd the Different Circumstances of *Scotland* from those of all the Kingdoms and States in *Europe*, that ever enter'd into an Union of that Nature with any other; and have clear'd by Ten Arguments, That such an Union is not Consistent with the true Interest either of *England* or *Scotland*.

And tho' I have much more to say on that Head, both for Corroborating what I have there Pleaded, and for Answering all Objections to the contrary, than is proper for this Occasion; yet I may here by the way take notice,

That, tho' I nothing doubt, but many Concern themselves in Recovering the Credit of that Kind of Union, which Reason and Experience have so often Baffled, who intend no Evil but Good by it; yet I must confess it my Humble Opinion, That, were there a Design laid To Interrupt all Reasonable Agreement betwixt the Two Nations, and to make Effectual a Purpose of rendering Ineffectual all Endeavours for Promoting a Good Understanding betwixt them; no means equally Plausible and Vain could more Contribute to such an End,
and

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and to frustrate better Measures, than the Insisting on an Incorporating Union.

Seeing all New Attempts added to the Old, must still at a closer View, prove it more and more Impracticable, with no better Effect, than the Delaying Time, Loss of Labour, Widening of Differences, and Balking such other Opportunities and Expedients, as might be Improv'd for Uniting the Interests of Both Kingdoms, with Solid and Satisfying Advantage to Each.

For preventing whereof I shall here offer a few of those farther Considerations, which oblige me to look upon an Incorporating Union, as a thing Impracticable, and whereby I am induced to Believe, That all the Art or Interest employ'd to bring it about, must prove no better than Beating the Air.

One Consideration is, That, allowing the first Article of a Treaty about it, To begin at the Security to be giv'n for Performance of all the rest; this first Step, tho' in it self very reasonable, must certainly Determine it never to go farther.

For clearing the Truth of this Assertion, it is to be Noted, That no Treaty

of Union betwixt these Two Kingdoms, whether Federal, or Consolidating by Incorporation, can ever admit of any Guarranty from Abroad.

Seeing that would give Advantage to a Foreign Power, having a Separate Interest from Both, to employ their Concern and Influence in so great a Trust, to raise Misunderstandings, on Contingencies of Difference, and to Promote them to the Dashing of one Nation against the other, with the Encouragement of their Assistance, whenever they should find their own Account in it.

And at Home there is no Security for the Terms granted to *Scotland*, but the Consent of a present Parliament of *England*; which, according to the Fundamental Constitution of their Government, to which all their Agreements with any other Government must Submit, can no way oblige any Subsequent Parliament, after the Union is concluded, to observe those Terms, on which they did agree to it, if any such Subsequent Parliament shall think fit, or judge it the Interest of the United Government, That the first Conditions be altered.

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The English also have no Security for the Terms proposed by them and agreed to by the Scots, but the Consent of a Parliament, the Being and Authority whereof are immediately Extinct, and at an End for ever, so soon as the Union is concluded. And whose Power to resign the Government may be reasonably Question'd by the Free People of that Kingdom, as is strongly pleaded in the above-mention'd Treatise.

But seeing the English are like to satisfy themselves easily, as to this Difficulty, Because of their Superior Power, with Law on their side, whereby they may well suppose, That they can secure themselves of all that is promis'd by *Scotland*, and more if they please; the Difficulty, as to Security, seems thereby only to remain on the Scots side.

For Solving whereof the common Argument is, That, when *Scotland* is a Part of *England*, it is not to be Doubted, but *England* will consult their Good, and take as tender a Care of their Concerns, as of any other part of themselves.

This would indeed be a Good Argument, if there were no Distinct Interests from those of *England* to remain in *Scotland* after the Union: But the Cer-

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tainty of a remaining Distinction of Interest makes it of no Value.

That a Treaty, Terms, and Articles are found necessary to the settling an Agreement about such an Union betwixt the Two Nations makes it plainly evident and as necessary, That Different Interests must still remain on Both sides ; which are provided for and to be maintained after the Union, by observing those Conditions on which it is concluded.

On the Part of *Scotland*, The very Articles of Treaty do suppose as many Distinct Interests there always to Continue after the Union, no less than before it, as there are different Subjects of Agreement settled thereby.

Your Representation in Parliament, Your Charge by Taxes, Excise, and Customs, Your Proportion in War, The Concessions allow'd You with respect to Trade, Your continu'd Subjection to the Authority of Your own Laws, And the Continuation of Your Ecclesiastick Settlement by Presbyters, make so many Distinct Interests, which You pretend are to be Maintain'd by the Conditions agreed upon in Your Incorporating Union.

While

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While in the mean time You take no notice, That the very Nature of such an Union makes it Impossible for You to obtain from *England* a Firm Security for any one of these Heads of Distinct Interest, tho' they were as willing to grant it, as You are to have it.

Because the Reason, on the contrary, before mention'd is unanswerable, That no Parliament of *England* can oblige a Subsequent Parliament to stand to any Conditions of Agreement by them made, farther, than as themselves shall think fit for the Time, according to those many new Emergents, which so frequently produce the Alteration of Laws, and new Measures of Government.

Observe then the Force of the above mention'd Argument, how it is like to conclude with respect to the Last of these Heads of Distinct Interest, to wit, the Presbyterian Church Settlement in *Scotland*.

When *Scotland* is a Part of *England*, it is not to be doubted, but *England* will consult their Good, and take as tender a Care of their Concerns, as of any other Part of themselves.

Therefore, say You, they will take care to continue Your Presbyterian Government.

But if others say No, pleading on the contrary, That they Consult their own Good, and take a tender Care of their own Concerns by Establishing Episcopacy amongst themselves, Therefore the Argument must certainly conclude, That they will also take Care to consult Your Good by Establishing Episcopacy amongst You.

How can You shut Your Eyes so as not to discern, That this is the far more reasonable way of arguing of the Two?

Seeing the former concludeth on a Supposition, That either they will not consult Your Good, as they do their Own; or, That preferring Your Opinion of Good to theirs, they will consult Your Good more than their Own, which are Suppositions equally Unreasonable and Inconsistent with the Nature of the Argument, from which they are drawn.

But a safe Prediction of the Fate of an Incorporating Union may be farther Clear'd, By taking Notice, That no sooner That Union seem'd to be Cordially

dially Design'd by the Late King, and Like to be Prosecuted by Her Present Majesty, than the Church Party of *England* did bring in the Bill against Occasional Conformity, for Excluding from the Government all Persons, that were not really of their Communion.

And a Tendency to the said Union continuing for Three Years past, The said Bill hath been as often Renewed ev'n in all the Three Sessions of the Last Parliament; and that with such Zealous Endeavours, as declar'd it to be a matter of the highest Concern in the Opinion of those, who were the Promoters of it.

This Bill hath occasion'd many various Reflections, according to the different Concerns and Prospects of those, who have taken notice of it.

For my own part, as I desire always rather to Err on the safest, that is, on the charitable side, I shall accordingly be far from pretending to discover the Secrets of Mens Hearts, which belongs to God, or to charge the Promoters of that Bill, as some do, with bad hidden Designs, cover'd over with fair outward Pretensions,

But

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But I must confess, That, in so far as that Bill is pleaded as a necessary Defence to the Church of *England*, no Man can reasonably Deny, but that it was both substantially well suited to the Purpose, and also seasonably Tim'd, with Regard to the great Dangers, if not imminent Ruin, which that Church is Threaten'd with, by the Formidable Appearance of an approaching Inncorporating Union, if it should happen to take Effect, before some Provision of the Nature of that Bill is obtain'd for the Security of it.

Seeing, if such an Union should be concluded, before that Bill is past into a Law, the Consequence appears to be very Reasonable, That, when those on the side of the Dissenters, with respect thereto, are now so strong in the Parliament, as to be able to disappoint as great and pressing Endeavours, as were ever us'd in any other Case, for having a Law made in the Terms thereof; it must justly give a most dangerous Aspect of the Final Issue on the Church side, That a Presbyterian Party from *Scotland* joining with them in an United Parliament shall probably be able to Overturn their Church Altogether.

While,

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While, on the contrary, if that Bill is first past, whereby all Dissenters are to be excluded from the Government, They have as probable a Prospect, That those of the Side of the Church of *England* shall be able wholly to Overturn the Kirk of *Scotland*.

From which Considerations of this apparently necessary Event on the one or other Side, it is Manifest That all Attempts for an Incorporating Union will certainly be Defeated and Render'd Void by the Interest of the Church Party in *England*, until the Said Bill is past into a Law.

And after it is past into a Law, all Endeavours for the same Union will as certainly be broke by the contrary Interest of the Kirk Party in *Scotland*.

And Consequently the Design of an Incorporating Union of these Kingdoms can never take Effect, and the Endeavours for it must be Labour lost and Time spent in Vain, whatever the Event of that Bill shall happen to be.

But beside this insuperable Difficulty which stands in the Way, and must obstruct all Hopes of an Incorporating Union, It farther appears to be Impracticable by considering

That

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That the Nature of it doth necessarily infer such an Unreasonableness and Inconsistency in the Constitution of the Government to be produced by it, as was never known in the World before it. To Wit,

That One Kingdom shall, in its Civil State be govern'd by Two distinct Systems or Bodies of Municipal Law, equally Independent, and of equal Authority with One Another: And at the same Time have also Two Distinct Compleat Ecclesiastick Establishments opposite to one another, without any Notion of Indulgence or Favour on either Side; but of equal Legal Right, and of equal Authority in Government, Discipline, and Censure, and a like Independent of one another.

This Consideration alone may seem sufficient to make an Incorporating Union appear a meer Chimera, and all pleading for it, Words thrown into the Air; unless at least we suppose That the Terms, on which it is agreed, are no ways to be observ'd, and that the same Laws Civil and Ecclesiastick must Govern the whole united Kingdom, whatever Conditions are made to the contrary: Which Imagination making another
Chimera

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Chimera gives us no better, than an empty Prospect of a Castle in the Air, to whatever Side we direct Our View of it.

The last Dangerous, and I may say, Dispiriting Way of Reasoning amongst You, in the present Juncture, that I am here to take Notice of, is

That *England* is a Nation so much more Potent and Populous than You, as makes it a Folly for You to Imagine That You shall have Your own Terms of them, however reasonable You may Think them, Or, that You can shun Their prescribing Terms to You, however unreasonable You may think them. And the Hazard You are in from a Desperate Party amongst Your selves inclined rather to take the French by the Hand, than submit to their Measures, puts You under a Necessity of yielding to *England*, that so You may avoid the worst of Two Evils.

The English Declare, They will give You no Share in their Trade; That they will not hear of any Federal Compact with You; That they will not allow You any such Limitations of Your Monarchs, as You think Just, and always the Less, the Longer You delay to come into
the

the same Succession with them. What can You do? You are not able to Resist their Force, and therefore must accept what they think fit to grant You of Favour.

Tho' this way of Reasoning be far from the Ancient Temper of Your Predecessours, who were never known to be Daunted by Difficulties, and whose Boldness always increas'd, with the Increase of the Dangers, that did threaten them, however Extream; as by many notable Instances both in English and Scottish History might be clear'd, if this Discourse did allow that Room for them, which Another may: Yet seeing I now appear as an Advocate for Peace, and wholly against all Measures, that may tend to a Breach of it, I shall so far comply with Your Fears, as no ways to incite You to any Resistance by Force, which You apprehend may prove so Fatal to You; But shall Endeavour to put You on a better Foot of Policy in judging about Your Strength, Circumstances, Security, and the prudent Skill You are capable of for Extricating Your selves from the mention'd Difficulties.

Such as may at once Relieve Your Fears, convince You of Safety, and that

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that You are in no Hazard of any Force from *England*, or at least from any other Consequences of it, than what must Terminate in Your Gain, and their Loss; and in all Probability without the need of shedding Blood on either side.

This, I hope, so effectually to perform, by what I am to lay before You and Them in the following Discourse, as another Pleader for Peace; That, had You a Hundred Thousand Men of a Standing Army by Land, and a Hundred Stout Ships at Sea, You could not promise Your selves thereby such a Security against all Force from *England*, as You may from the Means and Considerations there offer'd; tho' *England* had none to debate with, but You; and You had none to Assist You against them.

Whereby *England* finding That they cannot Force You, must see it their Interest to grant You Reasonable Terms; and You must equally find it Your Interest To ask none of them, but what are Reasonable, and for their Good, as well as Your own; Seeing nothing can ever prove a strong Cement of Lasting Friendship betwixt You, but Sense of real Benefit on Both sides.

And,

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And, if You are satisfy'd, after reading the said Discourse, That the End is gain'd, which this Undertaking pretends to, I Hope You will consider it as a sure Touchstone, that must infallibly prove, Not who are for *Hanover*, or *Saint Germans*, for the Old or a New Revolution, for Presbytery or Episcopacy; But who are True Scots Men, or Betrayers of Your True Interest, Who are for Publick Good or Private Gain, Who are for making all their Different Persuasions Terminate in the natural Center of their Country's Happiness and Prosperity, or who are for an Unnatural and Unreasonable Stubbornness in maintaining their Differences, to its Ruin, and their Devouring of one another.

If finding You are secure from the Dangers of Foreign Enmity, You all immediately agree to give over all Enmity amongst Your selves, and with an Impartial Regard to Your National Honour, and to Your own Peace, Comfort and Felicity in the present Age, and those of Your Posterity in all Succeeding Ages, You Resolve and Concur, laying aside, or waving all Distinction of particular Interests and Parties, To Turn Your United Thoughts upon Improving
the

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the present Opportunity, for Raising the Fame, and Consulting the Good of *Scotland*, by a Lasting Amity with *England*, Founded on Mutual Advantage, and Reasonable Concessions on Your part for obtaining it, You shall thereby Declare Your selves to all the World Good Men, Wise Men, and Good Country Men.

In relation to which You are to Consider, That tho' as to that Part of Your Pretensions, which regards Your own Rights and Liberties, it must be Acknowledg'd That You Your selves are the only proper Judges of what You want; yet as to Trade, and other National Interests, wherein You and *England* are equally concern'd, You must allow, That the English are as much the proper Judges of what they shall think fit to Grant, as You are of what You shall think fit to Ask.

And if You Differ, You must either Resolve to make Reasonable Steps towards one another, in a Friendly Way of Yielding as far as Your distinct Interests can admit, or Declare That Your pretended Endeavours for Agreement are Unreasonable and Vain.

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By making this the Rule of Your Proceedings, You have it now in Your Power, To make Your selves a Blessing, and Your Memory Savoury, or otherwise to leave it as a Stain and Curse to all the following Generations of Your Ancient and Honourable Race.

Whose Reputation in Maintaining and Transmitting to You, down to the Union of the Two Crowns, all the Just Rights of a Free and Independent Government, of the longest Continuance of any in *Europe*, You never had more Reason to be Emulous of, than now; And if You are not, Your selves must bear it.

I pray God may direct You To take the Occasion, that His Providence lays in Your way, which They never had, and You are never like to have again, for Considering, Advancing, and Securing Your National Interests more by Seasonable and well Temper'd Results of Deliberation, Unanimity and Prudence, than ever They were able to do by the Sword.

In the next place I shall suppose a Meeting of the English, for Consulting about the

the ordering a War with *Scotland*; and that one standing up amongst them makes a Speech Persuading to Peace, and a Friendly Agreement with the Scots, to the Purpose following.

GENTLEMEN,

WITH *Good Advice make War*, is a Counsel of the Wifest of Kings, which merits the Serious Consideration of all concern'd in it.

You are now going into a War with *Scotland*, and probably You may appear in Your own Eyes as a Mountain going to sit down upon a little Hill, or as a Young Man, in the Vigour of his Age, going to Wrestle with Grey Hairs and Decay'd Strength.

But if You Reckon a little more closely, and bring the two Ends of this Purpose together, I'm afraid You may find Cause either to change Your Mind before You Enterprize, or otherwise to be convinced perhaps too late, That Your Circumstances are like to make a War with

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them much more Dangerous to You, than theirs are like to make a War with You Dangerous to them.

If once You begin You must either Conquer or Lose; But there lie so many great Difficulties in the Way, to Obstruct Your Progress towards a Conquest, as Threaten much more Loss to You, before You can get near it, than ever it is like to Profit You, when You come at it.

Let not him, who putteth on his Armour Boast, as he who putteth it off.

For supposing You to be Conquerors as secure from all Force, Ambush, Mines, or other Stratagems of War, as any other Victorious People ever were; yet the Circumstances of the Scots are such as leave always in their Power a Finishing Stroke at the last Extremity, Enabling them so to improve the Maxim, *Arte supplendum quod Robori deest*, agreeable to their Proverb, *Wiles help weak Folk*, That they can turn all the Advantages You have got over them into Loss to You without all Gain, and into Gain to themselves, tho' not without some Loss.

To clear this Hypothesis, The First Consideration I shall offer, is the State of *Ireland*.

You

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You know that the Scots are there very Numerous : That they have of late gain'd a considerable Interest in the Publick Concerns : That they are the most Hardy and Resolute Part of the People of that Isle : and That their Dwelling together in one great Body, Possessing all the Northern Parts thereof without Mixture, makes them look like a distinct Nation ; and Enables them to Consult and Undertake what they please amongst themselves, and to put it in Execution with United Vigour and Surprize.

That the Irish also, whom the Scots own to be of one Original Stock and Blood with them, and who are much above twice the Number of the English, do in a like United Body possess all the Southern Parts of that Kingdom.

And That the English, dwelling in the Middle, are intermingled with many both Scots and Irish amongst them ; which, on any sudden Occasion for exerting their Strength against these Two, must not only much Weaken them, but cause doubtful Thoughts, Consternation, and Jealousies of one another, to the great Disturbance, and Retarding both their Counsels and Actings.

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Now suppose You should enter *Scotland* with Blood and Devastation, it is not to be imagin'd That the Scots in *Ireland* would hear of the Ruin of their Brethren and Native Country, and at the same time sit still and do nothing; Especially considering their Common Concern with *Scotland* in the Presbyterian Interest, which they think themselves in Conscience oblig'd to support.

And, if in those Desperate Circumstances they should resolve to join with the Irish for diverting *England*, there is no Human Probability, but That they would be able to dispose of all the English in that Isle at their Pleasure.

Nor is it Improbable, But That the English themselves being under several Discontents and Grievances, and finding their Hazard would fall in with the other Two for Asserting their Liberties, and either set up for themselves or agree to unite with the Scots, for making a Balance against *England*, rather than expose themselves to certain Ruin, by Maintaining the Interest of the English, who perhaps they may think have not always Maintain'd theirs.

This

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This Event so apparent, and scarce to be avoided, looks with such a formidable Aspect upon *England*, with Respect to the Dependency of *Ireland*, as may reasonably make any indifferent Person judge it much more Safe and Prudent for You to gain *Scotland* by Friendly Concessions, seeing Thereby You at the same time secure *Ireland*; than to run so dangerous a Risk of losing both *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by a War of such doubtful Consequence.

I have several Years ago seen a Paper on this Subject, representing the Dubious Condition of *Ireland*, as to its Dependency on *England*, from divers probable Considerations founded on the great Numbers and Power of the Scots, and the Interest they have in the Publick Affairs Civil and Military of that Kingdom. Which Paper, being offer'd as meriting the Regard of the Parliament here, tho' it was not thought fit to be made Publick, was yet handed about amongst many Members of Parliament, and others; and perhaps is none of the least Motives from which some do now take upon them to press the Scots into the English Succession, with Threatning of Force, for amusing them into a speedy

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Compliance, before they have time to Consider the real Value of such an Argument, and their probable Capacity to give it a contrary Turn.

But if there is any Cause to look upon the English Interest in *Ireland* to be in Dangerous Circumstances by the sole Power of the Scots, and in profound Peace; how much more from the Scots in Conjunction with the Irish, which that Paper takes no Notice of, and in the Time of a War at Home added to War Abroad, which, for the Reasons mention'd, is like to prove of such Fatal Consequence to the English both in *England* and *Ireland*.

At least, so long as these Two great Bodies of Scots and Irish remain in that Kingdom, and the English continue as it were, enclos'd betwixt them.

In which Case the supposed Consequences of Your Entering into War with *Scotland* seem to flow so naturally from what Reason and Interest do suggest on the part of *Ireland*, and the different Concerns of the distinct Inhabitants thereof, as makes the Hazard Greater, than a Prudent Consideration of it can well venture on, especially when the Matter is of Choice and not of Necessity.

If

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If it should be Objected, that *England* seems to be secur'd against the mention'd Consequences, by several Late Proceedings of the Parliament of *Ireland*, Discovering a quite different Inclination in That People.

It might be Answered, That we see by frequent Experience That new Contingencies, and a new View of probable Future Events depending on Them prove so Powerful, as to Change the Mind and Measures of Parliaments, even to a direct Opposition to their Former Proceedings, as is demonstrable in the Proceedings of the Parliaments of Both Kingdoms with Respect to the Late King *James First* and Last.

That also the Proceedings of Parliaments are very far from being always a just Standard, whereby we may judge on what Hinge the general Inclinations of the People do move, needs no other Proof, than the Experience of *Scotland* in the Affair of *Darien*.

In Relation to which, tho' a Court Party Influenced by *England* were able to carry several Proceedings of Parliament, against a less Powerful, but more Faithful, Party opposing them; Yet it is well known, That, if the Matter had
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lain at a National Decision, the Parliament would in Divers Points then carry'd, have been outvoted by more than a Thousand to One.

That likewise the Determinations of Parliaments, on Occasion of great Com-motions tending to a Revolution, are generally more Influenced by the Universal Inclinations of the People, than by all the Interest that Ministers of State, or Those in Trust of the Government for the Time can pretend to, or perhaps dare Pursue.

Seeing then it usually happens That all in Power are equally overaw'd by the excited Violence of a heated Mob, the Common Fluctuating of Mens Minds, and the Uncertainty of the Issue; while the State of publick Affairs is in such a Convulsion, making the very Foundation of the Constitution to Shake, as ready to fall down about their Ears.

And, tho' the Parliament of *Ireland* hath so often of Late declared their Satisfaction in the Dependance, they are under to *England*, yet that doth no ways hit the Question,

A Servant may truly declare his Satisfaction in serving such a Master. But the Question is,

That,

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Suppose he should have an Opportunity laid in his Way to be his own Master, and that in a Condition as Honourable, Wealthy and Plentiful, as the Master, whom he now serves, Is it probable that he would refuse the Offer, and rather choose to continue in his former Servitude?

Now to Secure That *Ireland* shall never have it in their Power to make the Decision in so tempting a Choice; Nor to falsifie their Profession of being so pleas'd with their Dependance on *England*; Nor that *England* shall want their offer'd Assistance to Force the Succession on *Scotland*; Or that they shall have thereby Occasion to Turn their Complement another Way, The best Expedient, that can be Taken, is to Gain and Keep *Scotland* for ever in the Interest of *England*, and by such fast Tyes of their own Interest, as they shall never incline to Dissolve.

And, if *Ireland* in their dependant State shall at the same time be Encourag'd in their National Concerns, by the free Favour of *England*, Then all Grudges and Jealousies must for ever cease from these Three Happy Kingdoms.

Another Thing, which puts You under a great Disadvantage to enter upon
a War

a War with *Scotland*, is The great Number, Power, and Interest of the Dissenters in *England*, whose common concern in all Extremities, and that of the Scots Presbyterians is always the same.

Many here are apt to account it a piece of fond Bigotry in the Scots to stand up so much, as they do, for their Ecclesiastick Settlement in a Party of Presbyters.

But this Matter stands on a quite other Bottom, and is no doubt by them well Understood to be one of the chief Politicks in their Civil Government, ever since the Union of the Two Crowns, and the so great advance of the Inequality of the Power of *England*, with Respect to theirs, above what it was, before the commencing of that Union.

Ever since that time Presbytery hath unquestionably been the strongest Pillar Supporting and Confirming their Government Civil, against all Contingencies of Difference that might happen betwixt them and *England*; And the only Balance they can make with the greater Numbers and Power of *England* is wholly owing to that Distinction in the Establishment of their Kirk from that of the Church of *England*.

Seeing

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Seeing this doth effectually make *Scotland* always the Head of a very numerous and strong Party in *England*, who on no other account appear so Formidable to their Opposers, as upon the close Cement of Interest, which they have with a Neighbouring Kingdom, and who in reallity depend more upon *Scotland* for the Security of their Liberties in any Extremity, than they do upon *England*, tho' both Subjects and Natives thereof.

This makes the Interest and Influence of *Scotland* so considerable in *England* as may render it questionable if it could be so Great, were they possess'd of several of the Best Garrisons in it, with all the Northern Counties, which formerly they were Masters of; and were depriv'd of the Prospect, which they have by the other.

The Dissenters in *England* know, That, were the Scots Subdued, Four Parts of Five of their visible Strength must fall with them.

And, when Wars are once begun, it follows of Course, as a Natural Consequence, That all Parties are Alarm'd and Stirred up to Consider, what Way they may

may make the best they can of them for their own Interest.

We have seen *Scotland* joyning with the Dissenters in *England* Too strong for All that *England* was able to bring against them; and how far the Dissenters of *England* joyning with the Scots may yet be able to turn the Scales to the same side, is hard to determine.

Only this is certain, That it must be much Safer for both to make Conjectures about it, then by violent Measures to venture the putting it to the Tryal.

The Author of the *Essays on War Abroad and Peace at Home*, hath Treated this Matter in another View, with great Solidity and Strength of Judgment, and his being no Dissenter proves his impartiality.

Only the Hazard, which he confines to the present Circumstance of Your Wars Abroad, must, in a due way of pondering that Affair, appear much more Formidable in the Circumstance of War with *Scotland*, tho' You were at Peace with all Your Enemies Abroad.

Seeing it appears by what hath been said, That while Presbytery hath the Scots Civil Government on its side, and
Episcopacy

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Episcopacy is Establish'd in *England*. The English Dissenters, in Case of a Contingency of War betwixt the Two Nations, are much more concern'd in point of Interest, That *Scotland* should prevail against *England*, than that *England* should prevail against *Scotland*.

Which, as it makes Presbytery in *Scotland* the best Bulwark, That it hath against Hostile Violence from *England*, so it makes Episcopacy in *England* the best Persuasive for their not ventring the Danger.

And thus those Two opposite Interests do Providentially, through the Intervention of so powerful a Dissenting Party in *England*, so Fortifie one another, as makes it equally the Civil Concern of *Scotland* never to attempt the overturning of Episcopacy in *England*, and equally the Ecclesiastick Concern in *England*, never to attempt the overturning the Civil Liberties of *Scotland*.

So that the Umbrage which the Church Party of *England* do generally entertain from the Presbyterian Establishment in *Scotland*, if that Kingdom should come to any considerable Increase of Wealth and Power, are wholly causeless, and can never give any just ground
for

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for Jealousies of *Scotland*, be their Circumstances what they will, in a Matter so flatly contrary to their Interest, as may Secure the Church of *England* that it can never be in any Danger from *Scotland*, unless they are pusht into violent Measures by *England*.

In which Case it must be acknowledged That all the Civil and Ecclesiastick Rights of Both Nations are equally liable to the Contingencies and uncertain Effects of the Fervour, Fury, and Resentments of Malice, Revenge, and Other unruly Passions, that ordinarily Accompany War, and from which it doth usually arise.

Otherways it will unquestionably be the constant Resolution, as well as Interest of *Scotland*, *To Live and Let Live*, with Respect Both to Church and State. Which makes nothing wanting, but the same Mind in *England*, to Secure the Peace, and Compleat the Happiness of Both Kingdoms.

But if You are otherways Resolv'd, You may farther consider that the Scots are of themselves very Numerous, and that they have always such a considerable Well-Armed Force, and Trained from their Childhood to the Discipline of War

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as may make it not so easie, as perhaps you Imagine, to swallow them up at a Morsel.

It is true, That their late Five Years Famine, and some other Contingencies, have depopulated them much, in respect of what they were at the Revolution; but, seeing the greatest part of the usual Numbers of their People, wherein they are at present deficient, are gone over into *Ireland*, it may be reasonably supposed, from what hath been pleaded a little before with relation to that Kingdom, That they are rather Strengthen'd, than Weaken'd thereby; altho' it is believ'd, That more than Fifty Thousand of them have gone thither since the said Revolution.

They have now the Advantage of Stationing and Fixing themselves in a strong Posture of Defence by the Act of Security past in their Last Sessions of Parliament.

And amongst the first Accounts we had of their putting that Act in Execution, You know we were told by Letters to their Ministers of State Here, That one Shire, to wit, the Sherifdom of *Air* had muster'd Six and Twenty Thousand Fighting Men.

Of those Shires or Counties they have Thirty and Six, whereof tho' there be many that are not so Populous as that mention'd, yet there are several of them more Populous than it.

Those of *Perth, Fife, Aberdeen, and Midlothian* are reputed able to raise a Hundred and Twenty Thousand Men.

Their Militia is Twenty Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse.

The Highlanders all ready Arm'd and Train'd to War from their Youth, or rather from their Childhood, are esteem'd to be above Fourty Thousand; and a Bolder and more Obstinate People in a National Quarrel is not in the World.

Their Standing Force under constant Pay, are about Four Thousand, and they are commonly reckon'd never to want a Hundred Thousand Men, that will fight out of Principle and Conscience in a Presbyterian Cause.

That, which I take notice of from this Consideration of their Numbers, is, That You are thereby under Three great Disadvantages to go into a War with them.

One is, That Your Wars Abroad cannot allow You to spare such Numbers at Home, as in Prudence may be thought suffi-

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sufficient to Insult *Scotland*, without great Danger to Your selves, seeing their Numbers in that Case are like to be more than Yours.

Another is, That You can never, with a due Regard and Caution about Your own Liberties, Entrust Your Monarchs with the Command of such a Potent Army, as in Reason must be thought necessary to Debate with *Scotland* in a National Quarrel, whereof the Issue must be whether they or You are to be Slaves to one another.

Two Dogs have often been seen to Fight for a Bone, while a Third has come and snatch'd it from them Both.

If a King of *England* find Himself able to Conquer and Enslave *Scotland*, what reasonable Security can You propose to Your selves, That He will not in the next place Conquer and Enslave You, while He hath the same Army at His Command to do the one, that did the other.

And tho' You should fondly Suppose that an English Army would be more true to their Country's Interest, yet the allowing them a small Share in the Spoil would soon convince You of a mistaken Notion of any Army, that ever serv'd a King, to think That they would not

rather Prefer his Interest, by whom they are maintain'd; and, in that Case, to be Maintain'd while they live, than Yours, who, they are sure, are to reward them with a speedy Disbanding, and leaving them to shift for themselves, with perhaps not a Penny in their Pockets.

A third Disadvantage, that the Power and Numbers of the Scots are like to conclude You under is, That suppose You should Conquer them, You will be oblig'd to keep up amongst them such a considerable Number of Forces for Maintaining Your Conquest, above the Charge that *Scotland* could bear for paying them, That not only *England* should thereby be Drain'd of great Sums of Money, but *Scotland* so enrich'd by them, as might in a few Years enable them, to attempt the Recovery of their Liberties with far greater Vigour, than that, wherewith at first they were able to defend them; and tho' not with Victory, yet probably with greater Loss to *England*, than all the Profit of the Conquest is able to make up.

Beside those Disadvantages, You are to consider the great Number of Scots residing in *England*, and both at Home and Abroad serving in Your Fleets and Armies,

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Armies, whom by a War with *Scotland* You must make so many Enemies lodged within Your own Bowels.

Also, That the hard Circumstances of the Scots, either under a Conquest, or while driven to great Difficulties and Straits by You, must prove a constant and solid Encouragement to all Designs of Rebellion at Home, and all Attempts of Invading You from Abroad; feeling both are to be always sure of all the Assistance, that *Scotland* can give them.

Again, as to the Superiority of Your Wealth and Numbers, the former must be a great Encitement to the Courage of Your Enemies, with whom is no Purchase no Pay, and who have such a valuable Prize to Fight for, as the Riches of *England*, while You have no such Encouraging Prospect on your side, with respect to them. Neither ought You to forget as to this Point, That You have lost one of the best Branches of Your Trade, as to import of Money, by Your War with *Spain*, whereby You may in a little time be more sensible, than You are now; especially if Enlarging Your National Charge by new Wars.

And as to the Latter, tho' it is true You have greater Numbers, yet You ought to Consider How far that Your Advantage may be Balanced, by the harder Education and Temper of the Scots, enabling them to endure the utmost Fatigues and Hardships of War, without any such Seasoning, as is commonly known to be necessary for hardening the Bodies of Englishmen accustomed to a more tender way of Living, as to Food, Raiment, Cold, Heat, Labour, Rest, and other Contingencies of Life.

The Delicacies of the English Breeding are now rais'd to that Height of Effeminacy, That generally the very Carriers and their Servants Travelling on the Road, cannot lie down in any indifferently cold Night, tho' neither Frost nor Snow, without having their Beds warm'd with Bed-pans; Whereas Heat and Cold, Snow and Rain, all Manner of Fatigue, all Sorts of Victuals, and all Kinds of Lodgings come alike to the greatest Bulk of the Scots Nation, without any sensible Alteration in the Disposition of their Bodies thereby.

I have seen a Manuscript Entituled, *The Ancient and Present State of Scotland, with respect to Force of Arms, and National Defence;*

Defence; Which gives this notable Account of the Highlanders, *That amongst them it is a frequent Custom, That when any finds himself pinched with the Extremity of Cold in a hard Frosty Morning, he disdains to go near a Fire, but, lifting up his Plaide, runs himself up to the Navel in the first River he comes at, and then, without changing Shoes or Stockings, entertains by Motion all Day the Heat, which the Strength of Nature forced by that Opposition of extreme Cold.*

Now suppose Twenty Thousand of these Highlanders should make an Inroad into England in the midst of Winter, and That You send Twenty or Thirty Thousand of Your Militia from their warm Fire sides, hot Victuals, and soft Beds warm'd with Bed-pans, to Encounter them; and that the Scots Commanders knowing the Natural Courage of the English, but at the same time understanding their weak side, should shun a Battel, and resolve to keep the English in constant Fatigue by Marches Night and Day in Cold, Rains, Winds, Frost, and Snow, obliging them to lodge in the open Fields in the most violent Tempests and Stretches of Weather, against all which the Highlanders are altogether hardened;

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it seems very reasonable to conclude,
That the Scots by this means might be
able to Kill or render useles the one half
of the English, before Drawing a Sword
against them.

I have now propos'd Ten Advantages
on the Scots side in Your making Wa
with them, and shall proceed to add a
few more, some whereof You may find
to be of far more Dangerous Consequence
to You, than any yet nam'd.

By One I shall put You in mind to
consider the Circumstances of the Nor-
thern Counties, as far different from
those of all the rest of *England*, in the
Case of a War with *Scotland*.

These are nearest the Danger, lie open
to the first Brunt and Mischiefs of War,
and are obnoxious to Surprizes by vio-
lent Incursions of the Scots, which it is
not in Your Power to prevent or secure
them from.

I shall allow the Northern Shires to
be as true Friends to *England*, and as
opposite to the Interest of *Scotland*, when
in the Balance with that of *England*, as
any other in the Kingdom.

Yet, if they see the Southern Parts
involving them into so great Difficulties
and Dangers, whereof themselves are
free,

free, and all to serve a Haughty Humour, while a condescending to reasonable Terms of Agreement with the Scots, might secure both against all the Charge and Threatning Calamities of War; I must confess I cannot see who can reasonably blame them, if finding the Demands of *Scotland* Fair and Just, and so the Equity of the Cause to fall in with their own Interest, they should in Opposition to unreasonable Measures consult their own Safety, by Declaring themselves on the Scots side.

Which Event may probably be expected from the Consideration not only of their Interest, but of their Prudence; seeing it is like to prove the most effectual means, that can be thought on, to oblige the rest of *England* to do Justice both to the Scots and Them, by a Friendly Composing of Differences for Securing the Peace, and Promoting the Publick Good of both Kingdoms.

But supposing this should otherwise happen, yet a greater Difficulty than the former remaineth, How You shall Secure *Newcastle* and its Coal Works.

This being a Concern of *England* of the Highest Moment, with respect to its best Nursery for Navigation, and with
respect

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respect to the necessary Supply of *London* with Fire by *Newcastle* Coal, without which it could hardly subsist, meriteth Your most serious Consideration.

A powerful Incurfion of the Scots able to reach that Place in a few Days, Pillaging the Town, Destroying the Works, and Setting on Fire the Coal, might do more Hurt to *England* in one Week, than they should be able to Repair in Fifty Years.

You may reasonably think of a sufficient Revenge for serving You so ; But seeing Revenge neither makes up Loss, nor prevents it, but is rather always the Mother of more Mischief, it seems to be a preferable Choice on Your part to cut off the Occasion of it with less Cost, whilst it is in Your Power, rather than pay so dear for a thing of no Profit.

It is true You are able to afford a probable Security both for *Newcastle* and its Coal and Lead Mines.

But seeing the Fate of War is always uncertain, and the Expence must be very great ; You may think, if You are not like to act more wisely by giving a Better Security with less Charge, which Your Friendly Agreement with *Scotland* doth effectually procure,

Another

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Another Danger, which You are obnoxious to by War with *Scotland*, I shall propose by laying before You a probable Foresight of another Effect of it, which is,

That the Scots, knowing the Superiority of Your Power, Wealth, and Numbers of Men, are not like to undergo the Calamities of a War with You, Threatning the Ruin of their Trade by Sea, the Desolation of their Sea-ports, the Destruction of their Towns and Villages, the Wasting of their Country, and the Demolishing their Fine Houses, Parks and Gardens, wherein many of the Nobility and Gentry have been, especially of late, so Sumptuous, as makes them equal, if not exceed, most of those in *England*, so long as they can find out any Shift whatever, whereby with less Hurt to themselves, and more to You, they may avoid it.

Let us then suppose *England* entering *Scotland* with a Formidable Army, and That the Scots, instead of going against them, do immediately order their Forces to March Northward, Issuing, in the mean time, a Proclamation, Discharging all Persons, on Pain of Death, to use any Act of Hostility against the English;
but,

but, on the contrary, to receive them with all possible Expressions of Civility, and with all the best Hospitable Accommodation and Entertainment, which they are capable to give to their Neighbours coming to Visit them, which Visit they hope, e'er long, to Return, with Satisfaction to the Visitors as well as themselves.

Let us next suppose, That having thus prepared the Way, The Chief of their Nobility and Gentry Entering into a Communing with the English General, do with all Enticing Civilities and Respect Declare their Unanimous Submission to Him, as their Sovereign Lord and King, Resigning unto Him the Absolute Power of their Government, on no other Terms, save that He may be pleased to Accept their National Assistance, and Concurrence as one Man, to Return with Him and His Army into *England*, and there to Maintain and Stand by Him, until they equally fix Him on the Throne of *England*, the Absolute Monarch of that Kingdom, as well as He is now of *Scotland*.

And that in the mean time they agree together to certifie to the whole Souldiery of the English Army, Officers and Centinels,

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Centinels, That they are to be kept on Foot during Life, That none shall be balk'd of their due Advancement, when a Vacancy falls; and That they shall all have their full Pay duly paid without any Diminution whatever, and their Cloathing over and above free, as their King's Bounty for their Faithful Service.

What Imaginable Defence can You propose to Your selves, against the Dismal Consequence of such an Artifice?

Or what can You devise to prevent the Success of a Temptation so irresistible by Human Nature, and to which the Interest of the Tempted must so strongly incline them, By seeing their Advantage so far to exceed all they can otherwise hope for, and much more, all that they have any Reason to expect from You?

Another as dangerous a Consequence as any yet mention'd, of Your Resolving rather to Force *Scotland* into Your Measures, than oblige them by a Friendly Agreement on Terms Equal and Reasonable on both sides, I offer to Your serious Consideration as follows.

One thing the Scots may be sure of, That You can bring no Army against them

them during Her Majesty's Reign, Whom God long Preserve.

Seeing it would be contrary to Her Majesty's Honour, Her Oath of Coronation, and Her Natural, Generous and Just Disposition, to make War for any private Interests or Humours of a part of Her Subjects, against another part remaining Faithful, Dutiful, and Loyal to Her Person and Government, and of a more near Relation to Her by Blood.

I suppose that the Scots being Secure from Force during the mention'd Period, and finding You somewhat more nice in Your Concessions, than they think reasonable, for obtaining such a Friendly Agreement, on equal Terms, as may make them sensible of Benefit by it, as well as You, do at length Resolve to make no Agreement at all with You, until after Terminating of the present Succession.

You are to take Notice of a Twofold Consequence of that Resolution, if once fixed.

Whereof the one is, That the Sovereignty then Devolving into the Hands of Their Estates by the Vacancy of the Throne, with the whole Nation Train'd to Arms by the Act of Security for their Defence,

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Defence, They will have it in their Power to make what Laws they please for Rectifying their Constitution without any Influence from *England*; which Laws, to whatever height they are stretch'd for securing the Independency of their Government from English Councils, must then become the only Conditions, on which they will ever submit, to come into the same Succession with *England*.

Especially considering That They can Continue their Government in the Hands of the Estates, as Long as they please, without any fear of Force from *England*, for the Reasons here Offer'd and to be Offer'd.

You are to consider whether it is more probable that they are like to come into that Succession upon Your Friendly and Respectful Invitations, on easier Terms and Concessions Now, than they are like to do Then, when they have stretch'd all their Terms to the outmost height of Regard to their own Convenience, as a separate State; and when an Agreement with You must oblige them to Resign the felt Sweetness of a Free, and in all Circumstances Independent and Unlimited Government amongst Themselves, which they find they are able to continue

nue and maintain without any Fear of *England*, if they think fit so to do.

The other Consequence is yet more Dangerous, That in such a separate State They shall be in a Condition to Treat, and Unite in a Federal Union with *Holland*, who are like, for their own Interest, to allow them in such an Union, all the reasonable Terms on their Part, with Respect to Trade and otherways, that the Scots can propose.

And the Scots may probably be more fond of entring into such an Union with Them, than with You, when it is in their Power to make the Choice.

Seeing they have had from them no such disobligements in their Trade and National Concerns, as they pretend to have had from You; and in that Union they should have the whole Government of their own Affairs altogether in their own Power, without Fear of Foreign Influence, and without the need of such Limitations on their English Monarchs, as they are very uncertain how they may be observ'd.

And as to *Holland*, there is no reasonable Ground to Doubt, but they would be very ready to Embrace an Occasion, which on divers accounts appears to be
so

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so favourable both to their Interests and Inclinations.

You are not, I suppose, Ignorant That the Hollanders are generally no great Admirers of the English, nor like to be fast Friends to them, when their own Safety doth not oblige them.

The settled Competition between them and You in point of Trade is probably to have the constant effect agreeing with some by-past Experience, that You can never Live Long at Peace with one another, after You have no Body else to debate with.

And You may judge what a Prospect of Advantage they may propose to themselves, by having the Scots on their Side, in Case of a Rupture, or for preventing a Rupture with You.

There is nothing also more wanting in *Holland*, than Room, which *Scotland* can allow them, with many Advantages for Trade, and other Conveniences.

But the chief Motive of All, that cannot fail to persuade *Holland* into such an Agreement with the Scots, is the great Benefit, which they must thereby Gain in their Fishing Trade.

I

They

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They very well know That the Day wherein *England* joyns with *Scotland* for Setting up and Prosecuting a Fishing Trade, a Foundation is laid for the Ruin of Theirs. Seeing *Scotland* with the Assistance of *England* must probably in a little Time be able to Assert, That the Right of Fishing in their own Seas does only Belong to them and to whom they Think fit to Grant it.

So that the *Hollanders* in that Circumstance must either submit to become Tributary, or have but a slender Prospect of an Uninterrupted Prosecution of That Trade, or making such Profits by it, as formerly they have done.

Whereas by a Federal Union with *Scotland*, they not only Scoure their Right to that Trade in the Scots Seas for Ever, but must greatly Advance it Both by the Benefit of the Scots Seaports so useful for Curing their Fish and Refreshing their Men, and also by Admission into some Notable Branches of that Trade in the Scots Seas, which they have never yet had the Benefit of.

Consider then how Imprudently You are like to Act for Your own Interest, if by denying the Terms to *Scotland*, which may satisfy them, and are not Prejudicial

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cial to You, You give them Occasion to think on other Measures, which may be as Profitable for them, but very Inconvenient and Dangerous for You, if they are not by softer and more obliging Methods on Your Part seasonably prevented.

I shall offer but one Consideration more to enforce the Reasonableness of Your Gratifying the Scots with all the Friendly Concessions You can, rather than lose them, with some Answers to an Objection, and then proceed to that, which I account the chief Hinge of the Controversie, for clearing whether it is Your true Interest so to do; or not.

It is, that I would have You consider a Law the Scots have got settled amongst them, which Incapacitates their Succeeding Monarchs to declare War, but with Consent of Parliament.

By this Law they are to be Neuters in all Your Wars after the End of the Present Reign, altho' they come into the same Succession with You; whereby You will probably then find Your selves concern'd to give them large Encouragements, for Dispensing with the Benefit of that Law, which otherways may put You under many Inconveniences.

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That which I aim at, is To move You to take Notice, if You are not like to make better Terms with the Scots, as to that Concern, now in a general Agreement about National Affairs, then afterward, when they shall have the Prospect of a Flourishing Trade in their Neutrality, appearing then so much bigger in their Eyes, at a near View, than it can do at the present Distance.

And That You may Consider, if a Concession on their Part with Respect to this, doth not merit on Yours such a Grateful Compensation, as may be Honourable for You to Give, and Them to Receive in Lieu of it.

I know that by way of Objection to all the mention'd Difficulties, which Your Circumstances, being duly Balanc'd with those of *Scotland*, do put You under in a War with them, Some amongst You please themselves with, You must pardon me to call it, a Foolish way of Boasting, That You will first Conquer the Scots, and then Transport them to Your Plantations, for preventing After-Games, and Securing Your selves from farther Trouble by them.

In

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In Answer to which, I must, as I have said, look upon this to be a Foolish Way of Boasting, and a very Inconsiderate and shallow Thought on many Accounts.

First, Because it is like to frighten none in *Scotland*, except it be Women or Children, and probably few also of them, when they see all about them Laughing at it.

Next it appears to be Foolish, Because the same Day You should Transport the Scots Nationally into Your Plantations, the same Day You should Translate Your Plantations from Your selves into the Hands and Power of the Scots, enabling them to debate with You, and Revenge themselves upon You as much, if not more, than they are able to do, while remaining in *Scotland*.

Because also You have no other Place to Transport them to, that will receive amongst them so Numerous and Dangerous a Multitude of Strangers. And therefore, if You say any thing to the purpose, You ought to Threaten, That You will Transport Them to the World in the Moon.

Because also You are a divided People amongst Your selves, which puts it in the Power of *Scotland* joyning Nationally

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nally, either with Your Whig or Tory Party, to be more like to Transport that Part of You, who shall Oppose them in the Said Conjunction, than You are like to be able to Transport Them.

Their Preachers have too often Told and Taught them the Art of *Paul* in dividing the Pharisees and Sadduces, by declaring Himself for the Resurrection of the Dead, whereby he immediately got the more Powerful Part of his Enemies over to his Side, That You should suppose them Ignorant, how to Improve the like Art, when they have Occasion for it.

Because also You have more to do at Home, and may always have more to do, or, at least, to consider with Respect to Your Interest Abroad, Your Reputation amongst Men, and the Equity of Your Cause before God, than can suffer You to think Seriously of such an Undertaking, altho' You could perform it, until You are first become Stone Blind as to Conscience, Justice, Prudence, and Your own Interest.

And lastly this Boasting is Foolish, Because it is founded upon the Supposition of a Conquest, without a Foresight of the necessary Difficulties, that must attend it, and without any just Conception or
Consi-

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Consideration of Your own Case and Circumstances with Regard to Scotland, or of theirs with Respect to You.

While on the contrary, after what I have laid before You, and am to add for Your farther Information, You may find Reason to Conclude, That Your Threatning a Conquest of the Scots, which this Treatise makes so plain You can never, not only attain to, but attempt, without Your own Ruin and their Gain, may be turn'd by You, into a big Mouth'd Threatning, of equal value with the other: That You will sink the Northern Part of the Isle which they Inhabit, and so send it, and them together to the bottom of the Sea.

And That, if You cannot do this, all other Means You can propose to Overcome them, or to Secure Your Selves from being overcome by them, at a last pull for Victory, must certainly prove Vain, so long, as, according to the Reasonings here offer'd, They always have a Way remaining, at the outmost, that You can do, and their outmost Extremity, to Turn all the Power and Interest You can Employ, in endeavouring a Conquest of them, back upon Your selves, with such Force against You, and

Influence on Your Monarch, Your Armies, and Your Divided Parties, as You can never be able to Resist.

And all this without any Necessity of endangering themselves by a French Assistance, which therefore I find no need to mention in this Discourse, for making the Power of the Scots more Formidable, than of it self it is; since, without that Aid, they are like to be sufficiently able to grapple with You, and secure themselves by Measures more favouring their National Interest.

BUT to give a Finishing Stroke to this Argument, and such as I humbly conceive shall make the Reasonableness and Consequence of what I have last pleaded unquestionable: I shall suppose You were under none of all the Advantages hitherto mention'd, yea, That You were at Peace with all Your Enemies Abroad, and *Scotland* had none of them to take by the Hand; yet that Nation, I'm afraid, tho' so left to it self, and in as weak Circumstances as You are ever like to see it in, hath got one Advantage more remaining against You, as a sure Refuge in Extremity, which still must make

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make them too hard for You to Debate with, in a way of open Force, at least so long as Kings of the Scots Race do sit on Your Throne.

With Respect to which, We are to Consider, That the Case between *England* and *Scotland* is no ways the same now, as it was before the Union of the Two Crowns.

That then You and Your Kings were alike Strangers to *Scotland*, and they concern'd, when in Terms of Hostility with You, to Defend and Maintain their own Kings, Liberties, and Independency equally against Your Kings, as against You.

But that State of entire Alienation being now alter'd, and the Scots having a quite other kind of Relation and Obligation to Your Kings, while of their Lineal Stock, than they have to You, it is not to be Doubted, but That, if They shall at any time find themselves in an imminent Hazard of being Overcome, and Enslaved by You, They will always in such an Extremity Account it more their Honour and Interest, to be Slaves to a King of their own Ancient Race and Blood, than to Strangers of another Nation, especially when sensible of Violence,

lence, Oppression, and other hard Treatment from them.

Formerly they did voluntarily choose a kind of Guilded Slavery to *France*, out of Revenge against *England*; whereby, as if they had been more the Subjects of that Kingdom, than of their own, they did support a French Interest against You, until they did Beat and Expel You from all Your great Conquests, to the great Advantage of *France*, tho' with unspeakable Inconveniences and Loss to themselves.

Now, if the same Humour of Revenge should happen again to seize them upon Your renewed Provocations, and they should find, That they could satisfy it, without any of those Hardships, which they of free Choice endured in the mention'd Case, What way can You reasonably imagine, That they will not embrace the Occasion?

The recent fatal Example of *Denmark* ought to strike a Terror in the Minds of all true Lovers of English Liberty; how they meddle with the Scots so, as to drive them to any Extremity.

The Commons of *Denmark* so provok'd and driven to extreme Measures by the Insolencies of the Nobility, did out
of

of Revenge, and to chuse the more Honourable of Two necessary Slaveries, wholly Resign their Liberties to their King, That, finding they must be Slaves either to their Nobles, being Fellow Subjects with them, or to the Sovereign of Both, they might choose the more Eligible of Two Ways of losing their Liberties; and in the mean while have the Satisfaction of a full Revenge on the Nobility, by Subjecting them to the same State of Slavery with themselves, for endeavouring to make them Slaves of a lower Rank, and at the same time to keep themselves Free.

Sampson's choosing to satisfy his Revenge on the *Philistines* for the Loss of his Eyes, at the Cost of his own Death to procure theirs; And the Fable of the Invidious Man, who had it in his Power to ask and have whatever he would, provided that one, whom he bare a mighty Grudge at, should have double; and who thereupon slighting all the good Things, he might have had, would rather choose, for satisfying his Revenge, to have one of his Eyes put out, that thereby his Envied Neighbour might be made stone Blind by Loss of both his Eyes; and the usual violent Heats in pursuing

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pursuing Revenge by set Duels, and in accidental Quarrels, are Instances of so great Affinity with the general Frame and Temper of Human Nature, That nothing but the Height of Imprudence, and, after Admonishing, Aggravated by a Stubborn Rashness, can ever direct any People to Provoking Methods, and Hard Usage of another People, from whose Revenge, and the Recoiling back upon themselves, of all the Inconveniences, which they put them under, they have no other Security, but a vain Supposition, That they will never hurt them, tho' it is in their Power, while they cannot do it without hurting themselves.

But to shew farther, How much worse the Event pointed at doth stand, with respect to *England*, and more favourable on the Scots side, than what perhaps is as yet obvious by all that hath been pleaded, I shall more fully explain this Matter, by laying before You Three Notable Encouragements, that the Scots have so to Treat the English, if they force them to it, to wit,

That being push'd to any Extremity by them, they can sufficiently Revenge themselves upon them, if they will;

That,

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That, being first Assaulted by Them, They may with Justice, and according to the Rights of Nature, and Laws of God and Man, Return the Mischief and Violence upon their Enemies, which they unjustly intended against Them; and Dispence with their own Liberties, at their own Choice, in pursuance thereof:

And lastly, That it is in their Power so to do, not only without Hurt, but with Advantage to Themselves.

As to the First, That they can Revenge themselves upon *England* endeavouring to Enslave them, to wit, by an equal Return of Slavery for Slavery, if they will, We are to consider,

That it is a certain Truth, founded on an Indelible Character of Humane Nature, That there never was nor shall be a Monarch on Earth, who would not be Absolute, if He could attain to it safely, and with the Consent of a Major and more Potent Part of those, whom He Governs being willing and able, without Hazard to His Sovereignty, to support Him in that Absolute Power, wherewith Dispensing with any Right in themselves to the contrary, they have so invested Him, as gives Him a just Title, and at the

the same time a satisfying Security, in accepting the Offer.

Thus, when the Jews asked a King, the Description, which God gives of Him, is altogether applicable to a King of unlimited Power, and thereby opposite to that Freedom, which formerly they enjoy'd; and were to dispense with; concerning which it is often declar'd, *In those Days there was no King in Israel, Every Man did what seemed Good in his own Eyes.*

Which Absolute Power being at that time a General Qualification of the Kings then in Being, did with their Consent, and the Extraordinary Election of their Kings by God, become a due Right of their Kings so settled in their Government over them.

To which just Title of Right that of *Solomon* doth refer; *Where a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto Him, What dost thou?* Which Words are illustrated by those immediately preceding, *For he doeth whatsoever pleaseth Him.*

Hence it appears, That not only the Universal Inclination of Human Nature to be under no Controul, but this Example also of the first Institution of Kings by God Himself, makes it certain,
That

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That every King out of Natural Inclination Will, and without doing any thing contrary to the Mind of God, or Right of Men, May assume an Absolute Power, when it is in His Offer, by the free Consent of a Major Part of His People able to support Him therein, against the contrary Inclinations of a less considerable and weaker Party.

This leads me to a farther clearing of what I have Asserted concerning the Power of the Scots to Enslave *England*, if *England* Endeavours to Enslave Them, by Answering a Question, which naturally ariseth from that Supposition; to wit,

Granting that *Scotland* in Revenge against *England*, driving them to Extremities, and for choosing the lesser of two Inconveniences, should make an Offer of Absolute Power to Their and Your King, Whom are they like to have to Join with them, for making a more Potent Party, than they who are like to oppose them?

For Answering whereof, it is to be Noted, That whenever there are Two Opposite Parties in *England*, Constant Experience, since the Union of the Two Crowns, makes the Event Unquestionable,

ble, That whatever side the Scots do nationally Joyn with, or Encourage by shewing a Readiness to joyn with them on occasion, That Party doth always become too hard for the other, by the Encouragement of so great an Addition of over-balancing Power, as they find neither Heart nor Hand effectually to Resist.

The Histories of both Nations, and Memory of the Present Age do furnish several Demonstrable Proofs of the Truth of this Position.

As the Parliament of *England*, Their prevailing against King *Charles* the First, By the Assistance of the Scots.

King *Charles* the Second Restor'd to the Throne of *England* without Opposition, by the National Concurrence of the Scots.

The same King *Charles* the Second supported in the peaceable Possession of the Government of *England* to His Death, against strong and close layd Designs of some in *England* to the contrary, by the Scots their joyning Nationally with an English Royal Party, and their keeping up Twenty Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse all that Reign, ready to be commanded by the King
with

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with Sixty Days Provision, whither, and when He should think fit.

King *James* the Seventh peaceably placed on the Throne of *England*, against the Strugling of a Numerous and Mighty Party to the contrary, by the National Concurrence of the Scots with His Friends in *England*, to Assert and Support His Title.

The same King Dethron'd and Diverst of the Government, through the National Concurrence of the Scots, in the like Measures with those of the Parliament of *England*, against the Cavalier Party.

Queen *Mary* and King *William* settled Peaceably on the Throne of *England*, through the National Concurrence of the Scots with the English Revolution Party.

Ireland Reduced by the Assistance of the Scots, and their National Concurring with *England* in Maintaining the Peace of *Britain*.

And last of all, The said King *William* was, through the National Concurrence of the Scots with the Williamite Party in *England*, continued in the Government, after the Death of Queen *Mary*, notwithstanding the Prior Title

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of Her Majesty, who now Reigns, whom God long Preserve.

These Eight Instances may appear sufficient to Prove, That, if there is now in *England* a Party, that are more Inclined to the Absolute Government of Kings, than to That Limited by Parliaments, as some such as are never wanting in the best Monarchical Governments, and most favourable to Popular Liberty; if the Scots shall Nationally join with them, and especially being sure to have the King on their side, upon the Terms above-mention'd, nothing hitherto done of that Kind, by way of over-balancing one of Two English Parties, through the National Concurrence of the Scots, seems to be more certain, than That the Debate must Terminate in Favour of the Absolute Power of the Prince, against all the Opposition, that can be made to it.

Seeing after this necessary View of the State of Affairs betwixt the Two Kingdoms, with Respect to the Question put, What Assistance are the Scots like to have in such a Design? It may now be more particularly Answered,

That

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That they will be sure to have the whole Prerogative Party in *England* on their side, whether they are so from Principle, or from Prospect of Interest :

That they are sure to have at least Twenty to One of all the Standing Forces, by Sea and Land, in the Three Kingdoms; seeing thereby they should be assured of perpetuating that Employment, which they have chosen to live by, and of having the Benefits, Esteem, and other Encouragements of it greatly Enlarg'd, above what they can ever expect in the precarious State they are now in, through the uncertain Contingencies of Peace, and the Addresses of Parliaments, jealous of their Liberties and Safety, when under the overawing Protection of a Standing Army :

That they are sure to have on their side all the Officers and Souldiers by Sea and Land Disbanded, and to be Disbanded in the Three Kingdoms, for securing to themselves the sensible Benefit of Pay instead of no Pay, or instead of half Pay at best, the double Benefit of full Pay :

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That they are sure to have on their side all the Nobility and Gentry in the Three Kingdoms, who want Estates to live on, suitably to their Quality, and have neither Places, nor Employments to make up their want of Estates:

That they are sure to have on their side all those of inferiour Rank in the Three Kingdoms, who account it easier to carry Arms, than work in Trades and Manufacturies:

That they are like to have all the Dissenters in *England* on their side, not only from Agreement in Opinion with the Scots, but from a reasonable Prospect of fixing and securing their Interest that way, against a strong opposite Party daily pushing at them, and whose prevailing against them is neither simply oppos'd, nor disappointed, but rather only delay'd until a more convenient Opportunity, in the Sense of many of those who appear to be for them, and are now able to turn the Scales in their Favour, as is Evident by the Printed Speech of a Learned Bishop, and by the *Essays on Peace at Home and War Abroad*, &c.

And

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And also because the Dissenters in *England* can reasonably foresee That they are sure to be Caress'd and Encouraged by any Prince rais'd to an Absolute Power, as being a Party necessary to His Interest, for Balancing the Power of the Church on all Occasions.

And lastly, they are like to have on their side not only all the Scots and Irish in *Ireland*, but probably That whole Kingdom, in Prospect of shaking off the Yoke of English Parliaments, under which they have been long Uneasie, and getting their Grievances about Trade and other National Interests Redress'd by a Prince of Absolute Power, who will from His own Interest be sure to promote, with a special Care and Forwardness the Wealth, Power, and Thriving of all that are on His side.

Now how Potent and Formidable a Power this may appear, by the Numbers and Force of so many strong Conjunctions, supported by the whole Nation, Courage, Hardiness, and Native Boldness of the Scots, in respect of one single Party of Liberty-Men in *England*, then, through various Discouragements, growing daily weaker

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and weaker, The Case as justly here Represented, hath more of obvious Evidence in it, than to need any farther Insisting upon it.

Especially considering, That they are also to be sure, for the Reasons mention'd, to have the Monarch on their side, who, no reason can suppose, will ever Decline to be more like God's Vicegerent on Earth, than He is in a limited Capacity, and more like the Kings of *Judah* Instituted by God, than those of *Israel* Instituted by *Jeroboam*, when He sees a fair Opportunity for it.

As to the next point, That the Scots may with Justice, and according to the Rights of Nature, and Laws of God and Man, Being first Assaulted, Return the Mischief upon their Enemies, which they unjustly intended against them, and dispense with their own Liberty at their own Choice in pursuance thereof.

This appears by considering, That it hath the same Foundation of Equity and Reason, That all Hostility for Defence of Right, all Conquests of those incroaching upon it, and all Captivities, Restraints, Imprisonments, and Slaughter of Enemies, are founded on :

That

That also it hath the Natural Law of Self-preservation, The Rule of Necessity, that knoweth no Law, and the Obligation of Prudence in choosing the lesser of Two unavoidable Evils to support it.

And as to any Objection, that may be here made from what hath been so largely pleaded in the Treatise mention'd in the Title Page, That it is no ways in the Power of Governours for the Time, to Resign the Fundamental Rights of Original Freedom and Independency of the People, whom they Govern; seeing they are therewith Entrusted, only for Conservation, but never with a Power of Destroying them, or Disposing of them to another, either by God or Man.

The Answer is obvious from the Difference of the Case there and here pleaded,

For here a Free People are supposed to be under a Necessity inevitable, of losing their Liberty, which is no ways agreeable with the Condition of the other, who are always to be concluded able to retain it, if they will.

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So that what is done in the Case now before us cannot be justly and properly accounted a voluntary Resigning; while on the contrary it is Necessary and cannot be shun'd, and so is truly not a Resigning in the strict Sense of the thing, but only an Act of Choice, Determining the Way or Manner of Resigning to one side or another.

The Scripture says concerning a Servant, or rather a Slave, according to the Original, *If thou canst be Free, rather use it.* But, supposing he cannot be Free, did never lay any Restraint upon a Servant from choosing his own Master.

From which it may be Inferred, That, if indeed *Scotland* can be Free, they ought rather to choose it according to the Reasoning in the mention'd Treatise; But if they cannot be Free, they are in that Case at Liberty to choose whether they will take *England* for their Master, or their Own King, of their Own Blood, and Ancient Royal Descent, according to the present Reasoning.

The Bait wherewith *Jeroboam* Enticed the People to Revolt from the Absolute Monarchy of the House of *David*, was the well-timed Proposal of a limited Govern-

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Government, wherein they should be charged neither with Taxes, nor other Incroachment on their Property, but with their own Consent, and according to their own Laws.

Thus when King *Abab* coveted *Naboth's* Vineyard, He could not reach him, but by a Process of Blasphemy and Treason, legally prov'd by Two Witnesses.

Whereas, on the contrary, it was told the Jews by God concerning the Absolute Monarchy, that He was to Establish over them, That their Kings amongst other Acts of Absolute Power, would take *their Fields, and their Vineyards, and their Olive Yards, even the Best of them, and give to His Servants.* Which was more in an Arbitrary Way, than *Abab's* taking *Naboth's* Vineyard to Himself, in a pretended Legal Way.

Yet such of the Limited Monarchy of *Israel*, as thought fit to leave it, and Subject themselves to the Absolute Monarchy of *Judah*, were never found fault with, but rather commended, especially when done, with regard to the pure Worship of God.

As to the last Encouragement, That the Scots can, and may Subject Both
Kingdoms

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Kingdoms to the Arbitrary Power of their Monarch, not only without Hurt, but with Advantage to themselves. We are to Consider,

That the Limited Monarchs of *England* do now hold all their Power, Grandeur, Wealth, Glory, Greatness, and their Formidableness by Sea and Land, in a Dependence on such Grants and Funds for the Support thereof, as are allowed them by English Parliaments.

The Consequence whereof plainly is, That, in all Competitions betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, Interest must oblige Them, to prefer the Concerns of the latter to those of the former.

But, if they should attain to a safe Enjoyment of all those Advantages, and much more, in an Uncontroul'd and Absolute Power, through the Grant and Support of *Scotland*, without the need of depending on Parliaments; This would infallibly Enable the Scots to Turn the Scales wholly against *England* and for themselves, with respect to all those Royal Favours, Indulgences, Preferences, Bounties, Benefits, and Encouragements of the Monarch so by them Exalted, which the Sense of Gratitude, and Prospect of His Security in the Possession of

of what He had got, would naturally suggest, and prompt Him to.

Especially considering, That His Interest in a matter of the highest Concern to Him must reasonably thus alter His Inclinations, and make them wholly run into that new Channel, by observing the above-mention'd Over-balancing Power of the Scots in the Publick Affairs of *England*, when Nationally joyning their Interest, Influence, and Force with One of Two English Parties.

Whereby He should always see, and find Himself oblig'd in Policy to conclude, That, if the Scots did not find their Account, and themselves Easie, and sensible of continued Advantages under His Absolute Government, They, in all Probability, should be in the same Capacity to Recover a Limited Monarchy, which They formerly were in to Establish an Absolute One.

Then should we in that Event see all the Chief Posts of Honour and Profit in *England* bestow'd on Scotsmen.

All the best Preferments in Your Armies and Navies in the Possession of Scotsmen.

All

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All Your Guards and Garrisons consisting as much of Scotsmen, as the Guards of the Kings of *France* did formerly, when Assisted and Supported by Them, against You.

Then should the Fears of the Kirk of *Scotland*, from the Interest and Endeavours of the Church of *England*, to overturn it, be at an End.

The Dissenters also of *England* and *Ireland* secur'd against Bills about Occasional Conformity.

And then should the Scots have all the Freedoms of the English Trade, at Home and Abroad, that they should Think fit to Ask, without any Need either of Applications, or Thanks to *England*.

I shall after all, only add a few Considerations to Enforce the Consequence of the Preceding Reasonings; That the Events here suppos'd to follow upon those violent Measures to be by You taken against *Scotland*, which the Design of this Discourse tendeth to prevent for Your Good, are so far from being Imaginary, and Improbable Suppositions, and do therefore so much deserve Your Notice, That, upon the strictest Examination, which
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the Thing is capable of, You are like to Find,

That no Proposition in *Euclide* is more Solidly Founded on the unalterable Rules of Nature, Reason and Sense, and on the constant Methods and Laws of Providence, than all that is here propos'd, as Conditions and Causes, doth naturally Infer the Reasonable Consequences drawn from them. To wit,

That, granting the Condition or Case of *Scotland's* being in Hazard of a State of Slavery by Subjection to a prevailing Arbitrary Power of *England*; They will certainly, for avoiding thereof, rather choose to subject themselves to the Arbitrary Power of a Monarch of their own Blood, and Ancient Royal Race.

The Invincible Reasons for the certainty of this Event are plain, and no less sure, than those Effects which depend upon a natural Cause, as,

That this is the more Natural, more Reasonable, and more Honourable Subjection of the Two:

That it is accompany'd with a Voluntary Choice, which, tho' of the Lesser of Two apparent Evils, yet caryeth along with it a Remainder of Freedom still preserv'd against the Opposite Designs

signs and Endeavours of their Enemies to bring them under a Total and Unmixed Slavery:

That thereby they do really Gain a Victory over their Enemies, tho' not without some such Loss to themselves as usually attends all Victories; seeing They keep the Field, and *England* gets the Foil, by a Subjection more Unnatural, Dishonourable and Violent, without any Free Choice at all, and Consequently, more Slavish, than theirs:

And that *Scotland* must thereby better their Circumstances, not only above those of *England* with Respect to the Lower, more Disadvantageous and Unvoluntary Quality of their Slavery, but, in all human Probability, far above those, they were ever in at their Best Estate, under a Free Government, as hath been clear'd.

Again, suppose That *Scotland* being pressed by You to an Extremity, should declare for the Absolute Power of Your and their Monarch, What possible way can You invent to stop the Course of Nature, Common Sense and Experience of all Ages, so as to hinder from Joyning with them, and Assisting them, Those, who by a prejudg'd Opinion, account

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an Absolute, preferable to a Limited Monarchy? Those, who Feel sensible Inconveniences and Uneasiness, by the Laws, Actings, Constitutions, and Addresses of Parliaments; and Those who can Reasonably foresee, and Assure themselves of great Advantages in their Chief Interests from an absolute Power? which are the Three Qualities of those particularly before mention'd and pitch'd upon, as the Aids and Encouragements which the Scots might reasonably propose to themselves, if forced by You upon a Design of promoting Arbitrary Power.

Wherein so many and such Powerful Parties are variously concern'd in their different Prospects of Gaining by it, as makes it a Matter of the Highest and most Dangerous Consequence for You to venture the Decision by plurality of Votes, after the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, by going into the Affirmative, must make it appear so safe for all to declare their Judgment freely, what they think Best, and what they will choose as most Agreeable to their several Interests, with Regard to the present Influences they are under from a limited Monarchy, or with Regard to their o-
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ther Uneasie, Contingent Circumstances.

Which must as naturally incline them to Hope for a Change to the Better by a Revolution, as Sick Persons use to do by having the Posture of their Head and Feet mutually exchanged, or as those who deserted from the Government of *Saul*, and resorted to *David*, Being every one that was in Distress, every one that was in Debt, and every one that was discontented in Spirit.

But to clear yet farther the Certainty of the concluding Force of the present Argument; That supposing *Scotland* to be so hard put to it by *England*, as forceth them to appear for the Absolute Power of the Monarch of Both, a Declaration by them being once made Publick to that purpose, it must be impossible for You by any means whatever to prevent its taking Effect;

I shall, for amore evident Proof of the Plenitude of Arguing, which the unavoidable-ness of this Event doth Furnish, Yield, and Give up all the Great Advantages on their Side, which are before pleaded from Six of the Eight Strong Parties, whose Assistance they are like to have in such a Design; and here confine my self
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to the Insisting a little farther, only upon Two of them, as sufficient to prove the Irresistable Consequence of the Prevailing of Arbitrary Power, whenever the Scots shall Nationally appear for it, which is there concluded from a Larger supposition of the Aid and Concurrence of the whole, to which the last Paragraph in more General Terms Referrcth.

These Two are, The Army to be sent into *Scotland* by *England*, who are first to be dealt with; and The Monarch who is next to be Influenced by the whole Nation of the Scots, in Conjunction with His own Army to embrace the Government of Both Kingdoms, as Absolute Monarch thereof without Limitation.

As to the Army, You may Judge if it is probable, That Men who take their Lives in their Hands, Leave their Native Country, Undergo the greatest Toils and Fatigues of War; and Venture upon the most Desperate Attacks on Enemies Towns and Forts Abroad, and all for recommending themselves to the Favour of the Monarch for continuing them in His Service, and Advancing

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them, as Occasion offers, will rather venture their Lives by Fighting a Bold and Desperate People, to please a Liberty Party in *England*, the greatest Enemies of their Employment and Interest depending thereon, than Consent with the Scots in a Matter, wherein they are like to have no Hostile Opposition, and to do what all the standing Armies that were ever yet in the World under the Command of any Monarch, Did think to be Best for their Monarchs, and Best for their own Interest.

Can any Man reasonably Doubt, That an Army having it in their Choice, to serve their King's Interest and their own, or to serve the Interest of a Liberty Party in *England*, which they have so often found to stand Cross to their own, would not without hesitating Embrace the Former and Despise the Latter? Especially, if Tempted with a probable foresight of less Toil, and more Profit the one Way than the other.

If any Man think otherways, It is plain That his Thoughts and Reasonings must Argue in Effect for this unlikely Plea.

That

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That an English Army will prefer more Toil and less Profit, to less Toil and more Profit:

That they will choose to fight abroad against a Foreign King, rather than Live in *England* to defend their Own:

That the Souldiers will choose to be disbanded in the Time of Peace with no Pay, and the Officers with half Pay, rather than Both to be continued in the Service with whole Pay, During Life, in Peace as well as War:

That the Concerns of a Party Opposite in a great Measure to theirs, will have more weight with them, than their own Concerns:

And, That they will rather support the Liberty of the People with Loss to themselves, than That of the Monarch whom they serve, with a solid Prospect of Gain and Advantage to themselves on many Accounts.

Therefore, Whoever finds that His Judgment in an Impartial View of this Matter obliges him to look upon this Way of Reasoning to be Fallacious and Unreasonable, must on the other Hand find himself oblig'd to Yield to the Power of Nature, Common Sense and Self-

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Interest, from which the Force of the present Argument is derived; to wit,

That *England* can never employ an Army to Compel the Scots into their Measures, or to Conquer them, But what will certainly comply with the Proposal of *Scotland* to make a Present to the Monarch of the Limited Government of Both Kingdoms, and to concur in Asserting and Supporting Him as the Absolute, and Unlimited Monarch of Both.

Again, as to the Monarch, for Satisfying You That You may unreasonably flatter Your selves, but can never reasonably suppose, That any Monarch will Decline the Embracing a Fair and Safe Offer of Absolute Power, as that Matter hath been Stated, I Desire You all to look into Your own Breasts, and see and Judge, and declare Ingeniously; if You don't find it to be a Fixed Principle of Your Natural Structure and Temper, To desire a Freedom from Controul, and to be at Your own Disposal in Your Affairs and Inclinations, rather than to be Subjected to the Limiting Restraint and Disposal of Another.

Is

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Is it not this Natural Disposition in every one of You, that doth so much commend to You, and makes You on all Occasions so concernedly Stand up for a Free Government, as preferable to an Arbitrary and Tyrannical?

The Essential Difference of the one and the other being nothing but this, That in a free Government You are Govern'd by Laws of Your own Making, Choice, and Consent, and so are under no Controul but Your own; for all which in an Arbitrary Government You have nothing but the Laws and Absolute Will of the Prince, to which Your Consent is not required.

Under the former Your Liberties are strongly fortify'd by Your *Magna Charta*, *Habeas Corpus* Act, Writs of Errour, Power of Impeachments, The special Privileges of Both Houses, The Negative Voice of Each against the Proceedings of Each, and Both against the Monarch, as Three Constituents of the Legislative Power, wherein the Sovereignty is lodg'd equally Independent of one another; whereas under the latter, the whole Laws and Liberties of

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the People are contracted into this one Center of all Authority lodged in the Absolute and Unlimited Power and Will of the Monarch; *For so is our Pleasure.*

Now if You by Nature and Reason find Your selves, and every one of You, so Averse from Controul, can You in an equal way of Judging without Partiality Suppose, That Your Monarch having the same Human Nature with Your selves, is not as Averse from Controul as You?

And if You consult Reason in the Matter, The Aversion to Controul must be reasonably concluded to be stronger in the Monarch, than in the People.

Because in a Free Government, The Advantages and Extent of Liberty are always larger on the Part of the People, than on the Part of the Monarch.

Seeing the People are in a Capacity to put the Monarch under several Inconveniences, if He does not Consent to such Limitations of his Power, as they think convenient for themselves; whereas the Monarch hath no way left Him in a Free Government to put His People under the like Inconveniences to oblige them

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them to consent to such Limitations of their Power and Enlargement of His own, as He may think convenient for Himself,

The Force of this Concurrence of Natural Inclination with Reason pleading for Absolute Power in the Monarch, if you well observe it, can leave You no Imaginable Ground, but what is fond, To suppose That He will not Embrace it, when it is fairly and safely in His Offer from a more Potent Part of His People able to Support Him in it.

But more especially if You call to Mind the above-mention'd Considerations, whereby it hath been Clear'd, That were He the best Prince that ever Reign'd on Earth, There is no Argument can be brought from Justice, Reason, Conscience or Scripture, To prove it an Evil Thing, if he so do.

While, on the contrary, it is plain from what hath been said, That by Embracing Absolute Power, when laid to His Hand by Providence, He Squares His Government to the First Institution of Kings by God; He Imitates the Example of *David*, *Salomon*, and other

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Happy and Godly Kings of *Judah*, and Declines the Example of *Jeroboam*, and other Unhappy and Idolatrous Kings of *Israel*; and States Himself into a nearer Resemblance of that Chief Character and Quality of Rulers, for which They are Honour'd with the Title of Gods.

These added Reasons make it sufficiently Evident, That the Consequences, for which They plead, must, on the supposed Conditions, on which They depend, be Certain and Irresistable; to wit,

That *Scotland* being press'd to an Extremity by *England*, will certainly Declare for the Absolute Power of the Monarch of Both :

That the English Army Employ'd to Force them into the Measures of *England*, or to Conquer them, will certainly Joyn with them in that Design :

And That the Monarch will certainly Embrace the Offer of Absolute Power made by the Unanimous Consent of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, in Conjunction with His own English Army.

And the Strength of the whole Arguing Terminates in this Issue, than which a stronger cannot be, That no
Man

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Man can suppose the contrary, but from such empty Shadows of Reason, as must of necessity Conclude contrary to Nature, contrary to solid Reason, contrary to Common Sense, and contrary to Interest.

ALL these Considerations do so plainly lay before You what You are to Expect, as the Unavoidable Consequence of Your pressing any way so hard upon *Scotland*, as to provoke their Revenge against You, That it appears now, after all that hath been said, to be High Time seriously to cast up Your Accounts upon the whole Matter;

And deliberately to consult with Your selves, How You may seasonably prevent all that Loss of Your Liberties, and Ruin of Your other National Concerns, which a supposed Exasperating of *Scotland* makes so to Stare You in the Face.

As to this great Point, which is of the Highest Moment to Your own Happiness, and that of Your Posterity, and at present in a near View of a very Dangerous and Critical Issue, it seems reasonable to Suppose, That *Scotland*,
which

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which is perhaps the Nation on Earth, that, Considering their Circumstances, hath done and suffered most in Defence of their Liberties, will never think of Inroaching upon Yours with the Loss of their own, if Oppression, which makes even *Wise Men Mad*, and the Want of another Way to Relieve themselves, do not Force them upon it, as a last and only Remedy:

And That much less will they ever think of Injuring either their own Liberties, or those of *England*, if they are so dealt with, as may make them sensible of National Benefit in the Support and Security of Both.

Especially considering That present Benefit with Liberty hath a strong Plea for its Preference from the plain Dictates of Nature, Reason, and Common Sense; while, on the other Hand, The pursuing a Prospect of Benefit, with the Loss of Liberty, can never be otherwise own'd, than an Act contrary to Nature, Reason, and Common Sense; unless a pressing Necessity Force to it.

From this Consideration You may Rest Satisfy'd, That Your Liberties are Secure from all Attempts against them, on the

Part

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Part of Scotland, if You make no Attempts upon theirs.

And That, if beside this firm Security from all apparent Dangers, that may arise from them, You want a closer Conjunction of Mutual National Interest, such as may make You sensible of Advantage by it, You must either Resolve to give Benefit for Benefit, or let the Proverb take place, *Kindness can never stand long on one side.*

And in sum, the whole Matter seems to Terminate in this point of Certainty, That of all the unavoidable Consequences, which I have a little before taken Notice of, there is none more sure than this, That, seeing You cannot overcome them by Force, as hath been cleared, You must either Gain them by Favour, or Lose them for ever.

They are well known to be a People, amongst whom Honour goes a great way, which naturally inclineth to Gratitude or Revenge, according as it is kindly or harshly Treated.

Therefore to carry disrespectfully towards them, by seeming to Impose upon them, or to Prescribe to them without a due Regard to their Ancient Independence.

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dependency, or to cross them in their Reasonable Demands about their National Rights; whereof their Parliaments are the best and the most proper Judges; are Things, which, next to Blows, are most like to Provoke them to the taking of Extreme Measures.

On the other Hand I may say, as the Old and Wise Counsellors of Solomon said to Rehoboam; *If You will be Servants unto this People this Day, and will serve them, and answer them, and speak good Words to them, then they will be Your Servants for ever.*

It is but turning the usual Complement, *Your Humble Servant*, which all well bred Persons use to one another, into Reality for one Day, and You shall have the Scots Returning it to You in Reality for ever.

You making Your selves Servants to them, and they who are as Independent and Honourable; and so as Good as You, becoming mutually Your Servants, makes an exact Equality, and leaves no Ground of Disparagement on either side.

In

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In other Words the Advice amounts to this: Serve One Anothers Interests mutually for once, by an Equal and Friendly Yielding on Each side, and You shall serve the mutual Interests of Both for ever.

And this wholsom and Healing Counsel may appear to be the more approveable on all Accounts, as well as it is the more safe, That, supposing *Scotland* had allowed them all they desire, so far as they have made their Demands as yet known, it may perhaps be found very difficult, how to make it clearly appear, That *England* must suffer Prejudice, or be under any real Disadvantage thereby.

There are but Two Things, which the Scots, in all their Pretensions hitherto made Publick, do Insist upon, as the Chief Comprehensive Heads of their National Concerns; to wit,

The Asserting and Securing the Ancient Rights and Liberties of their Constitution, in an Independency from the Influence of English Counsels on their Monarchs, being at the same time Monarchs of *England*.

And

And the other was formerly, A Freedom of Trade with *England*, and particularly to Your Plantations, before coming into the same Succession with You, which they have now Turn'd into a Resolve of Parliament, *That they will not Enter upon the Matter of the said Succession, until first they have a Treaty with England about Trade and other National Concerns.*

As to the First, it may appear hard, how to Assign a good Reason, Why You should think You are concern'd to oppose them in a Demand, which, being in their Case You would equally claim, as they do now, and account Your selves unjustly Treated, if You met with the Denyal.

You have already got all the Limitations of the Crown, which for Security of Your Rights and Libertties You thought fit to propose, and why should not they have the same?

You have Your Independency sufficiently secur'd from the Influence of Scots Counsels; and why should not They, being as Free as You, have the like Security to their Independency from the Influence of English Counsels; especially

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tially when You have their Monarchs Residing amongst You?

And, if they are uneasie through Jealousie of English Influence, when such and such Persons are put into the Government, and others put out, or kept out; such and such Acts pass in Parliament Deny'd the Royal Assent, or rendered Ineffectual, by Opposition and Discouragements, tho' the said Assent is obtain'd; and when such and such Alterations of former Customs, and Innovations prejudicial to their National Rights and Liberties, are Introduced upon their Ancient Constitution, can any Reason, that is not Partial, disapprove their Endeavours for a Redress?

You take care to provide for Your own Security when Jealous of them; and can You blame them, if they take the like care to Secure themselves against their Jealousies of You?

And, if after all, You cannot hinder them, from taking their own Measures in their own Affairs, if they are Stoutly so Resolv'd; seeing by Pushing the Matter to an Extremity, You cannot shun to hurt Your selves, more than

than them, as hath been clear'd; must it not be more Prudent for You To let them alone, and falling in with the Demand of *Diogenes*, To let them take what You cannot keep from them?

As to the Differences, that may arise about Trade, by their asking what You have not a Mind to grant, I suppose such a Medium may be found to compose them, as shall make an Agreement about a limited Commerce as much, if not more Beneficial to the Trade of *England*, than that of *Scotland*; which is like to be the Best Way of getting over that Difficulty, when Interest must vote for it on Both sides.

And this Way of Accommodating all the Differences, that can arise about Trade, appears so plain and obvious to me, that I nothing doubt but what I have here supposed practicable, will then be made good, when the going upon that Affair by Both Nations, makes a fit Opportunity for it.

As for the last Head of Agreement, which is, Other National Concerns; I shall offer but one Thought, to wit, That *England*, after weighing the Considerations mento'd, may probably Find,
That

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That they have as much need of a Treaty with *Scotland* on that Account, as *Scotland* with them, if it were but for this one Article, The Mutual Support and Maintaining of one another in the Defence of all their Distinct National Rights, Liberties, and Privileges, against all Incroachments of Arbitrary Power,

NOW the Sum of the Whole is, That *Scotland* must either Enjoy their Liberty, or *England* shall not Enjoy Theirs:

That *Scotland* must either be made Happy by a Friendly Agreement with *England* about Privilege, Trade, and other National Concerns, or *England* shall not be Happy without it:

That *England* can never Trust either a King or an Army to Compel them:

That, after this, *England*, in all Designs against *Scotland*, must for ever be more Jealous of their own Forces, than formerly they have been of those of the Scots;

M

That

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That whoever Advises or Appears for Your going into a War with *Scotland* must be Concluded to be Enemies to those Liberties and Privileges, which You now enjoy under a Limited Monarchy:

And That, if *Scotland* being hard push'd at by You, and growing Angry should boldly say, That they will have all that they Demand, whether *England* will or not, it runs to a Point too narrow for You, to be as Bold in the Denial.

But rather, after the Discoveries here layd open of Your Dangerous Circumstances, It is probable You must Tremble in Your own Minds, and with less Honour, than You may do now, either give them Fair Words and Yield, or be Ruin'd.

Thus an Agreement pleads it self as Necessary on all Accounts for the Interest of *England*, as for that of *Scotland*.

And from all that hath been said, it is Evident, That if You Resolve to have one, that shall be Effectual and Sure, You must allow the Scots such Friendly Concessions,

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cessions, as may make them Easie under it, and Gainers by it.

Otherways You may expect, That it will never prove Better, than the Healing a Wound slightly, which continues to Fret and Corrupt under a False Covert, until at length it breaks out again, with greater Danger than ever.

To this purpose, there is a very Agreeable Passage Recorded by Livie, who, after an account of the Conquest of the *Prevernates* by the Romans, tells us that finding themselves uneasie, they Rebell'd once and again against their Conquerours; but being as often Overcome, they at length asked Terms of Peace, and the Romans Demanding what Conditions of Peace could they Expect, who had so Rebell'd? They Answered Boldly: *Si Bonam Dederitis, & Fidelem & Perpetuam, si Malam, haud Diuturnam.* If You grant us a Peace, that shall be Good for us, and Favour our Interests, it will be Both Faithful and Perpetual, if Otherways, it will never be Long.

Seeing therefore, while the Spark hath not as yet kindled the Flame, a small Matter may Quench it, in Respect of far greater Endeavours, which may

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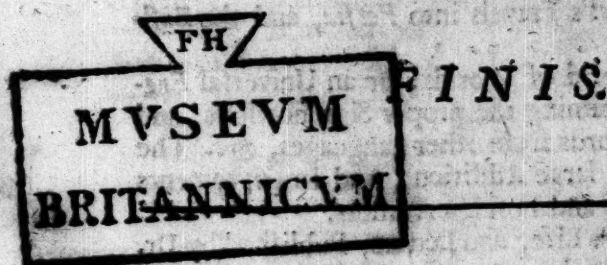
all prove too little afterward ; my sincere Wish is, That the proper Healing Means of Peace and Agreement may be used timely, and in due Season, and That all unfriendly Methods be as much Guarded against, as the preceeding Discourses have made it Plain, That the Mutual Happines of Both Kingdoms doth so necessarily Depend upon their Mutual Friendship, That neither of them can be so Happy without it, as with it.

Here I shall End as I Begun, Concluding from all that hath been said, That it is Impossible for Either Kingdom to make Advantage by War with the other ; and, That a Firm Settlement of lasting Peace and Amity betwixt them, Founded on Reasonable Concessions from Each to Each, is therefore Necessary for the Common Interest and Good of Both ; and Especially, as I suppose is now sufficiently Explain'd, for Preserving their Distinct Rights, Liberties, and Privileges, and Securing them from Arbitrary Power and Slavery on Both sides :

And That the Means here propos'd for Attaining that Happy End do Agree with

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with the Opinion of the Wisest of Kings,
in that Saying Remarkable for its Suita-
bleness to the present Purpose.

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